JONATHAN SWIFT

IRISH TRACTS
1720-1723

Edited by
HERBERT DAVIS

And SERMONS

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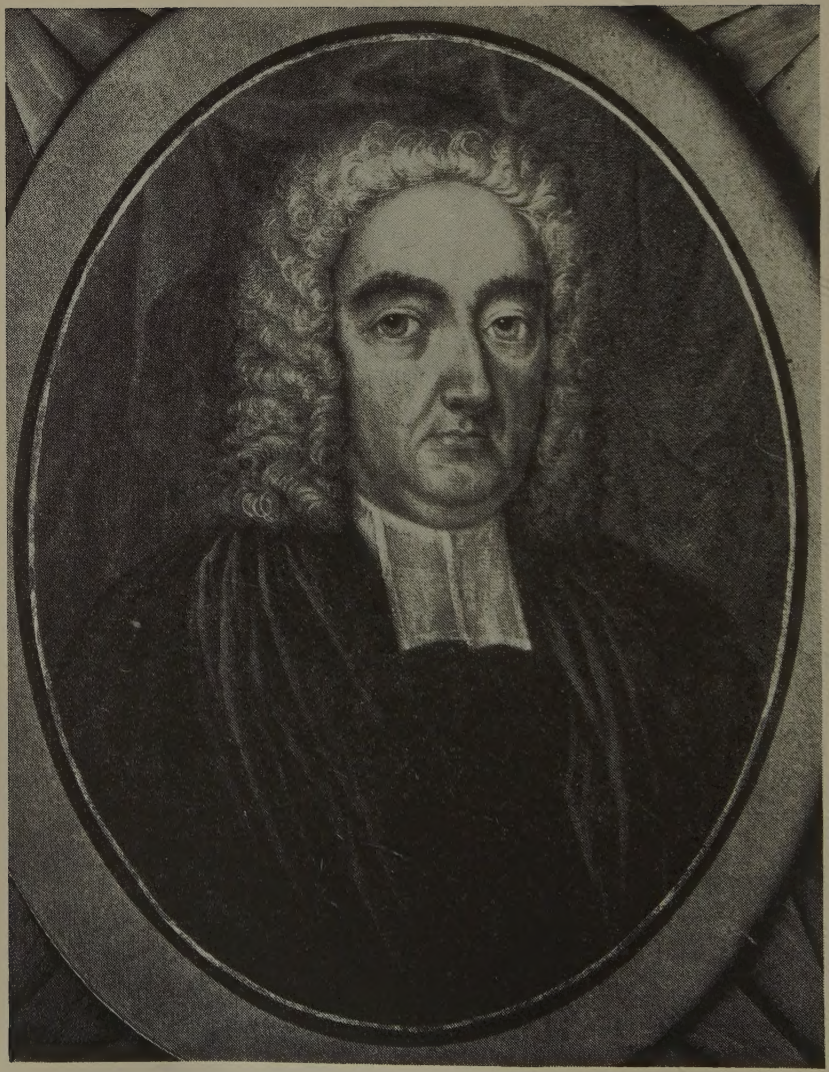

Jonathan Swift
from the pastel portrait in the National Gallery of Ireland

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The INTRODUCTION

SWIFT himself was partly responsible for giving the impression that he was not interested in Irish affairs during the days of his political power in the reign of Queen Anne; and that afterwards, during his exile in Ireland, he allowed himself to exert his influence in local politics only out of contempt and hatred for the Whigs. But the facts do not bear this out.

His mission to England in 1707 was undertaken on behalf of the Irish Church; and it was his failure with the Whigs in this affair that led him in 1710 to turn to the new ministry when he found Harley ready to press the matter for him and to obtain from the Queen the remission of the First Fruits. He had appeared also as a champion of the Irish interest in 1708 in *A Letter Concerning the Sacramental Test.*[1] His attitude and tone in this Letter are exactly the same as in all the later Irish tracts. Again, in the spring of 1710, he showed his concern over Irish politics and his unaltered views in *A Letter to a Member of Parliament.*[2] Three years later, at the height of his power, a remark in the *Journal to Stella*, February 1, 1712/13, dropped lightly and arrogantly, serves nevertheless to indicate that he was still interested and influential in Irish politics.

> I spoke to the Duke of Ormond a good deal about Ireland. We do not altogether agree, nor am I judge enough of Irish affairs; but I will speak to Lord Treasurer to-morrow, that we three may settle them some way or other.

It has not hitherto been noticed that there was another short paper on Irish affairs which Swift must have written as early as 1707—*The Story of the Injured Lady* and *An Answer*, in which he compares the plight of Ireland to that of an ill-used, cast-off

[1] See Vol. II of this edition, pp. xxii and 109 *ff.*

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 127 ff.

mistress at the very moment when her rival Scotland is being accepted in marriage. It was never printed in Swift's lifetime, but was issued as a shilling pamphlet in London by M. Cooper in 1746, and reprinted by Faulkner in the same year in the eighth volume of Swift's collected works. It has usually been included among the later Irish tracts, although it describes the situation of affairs just before the final ratification of the Union with Scotland.

> ... there is now a Treaty of Marriage concluded between them, the Wedding Cloaths are bought, and nothing remaineth but to perform the Ceremony, which is put off for some Days, because they design it to be a publick Wedding.[1]

The political events referred to in this pamphlet all took place before the Union, and the sentence just quoted would seem to fix the date as just before the final settlement in May, 1707. It is possible, however, that Swift may have added a phrase or two to the last paragraph of the *Story* in 1720, at a time when the strongest feeling had been aroused again because of the passing of the 'Act for the better securing the Dependence of the Kingdom of Ireland upon the Crown of Great Britain' in March, 1720. Writing to Ford from Dublin on April 4, 1720, Swift says:

> I believe my self not guilty of too much veneration for the Irish H. of Lds, but I differ from you in Politicks, the Question is whether People ought to be Slaves or no. It is like the Quarrell against Convocations; they meet but seldom, have no Power, and for want of those Advantages, cannot make any Figure when they are suffered to assemble. You fetter a Man seven years, then let him loose to shew his Skill in dancing, and because he does it awkwardly, you say he ought to be

[1] See below, p. 7. Deane Swift, in his Essay on the *Life and Character of Dr. Swift*, 1755, p. 205, says of *The Story of the Injured Lady*: 'it seems to have been written about 7 or 8 and 40 years ago'—*i.e.*, in 1707 or 1708. For a full discussion of the date and significance of this piece, see article by Godfrey Davis in the *Huntington Library Quarterly* (Aug., 1943), Vol. vi, No. 4, pp. 473-89.

fettered for Life, Scotland is poorer and more Northward than this Island, yet were satisfied with their own Legislature till they were united on their Conditions, which though I think too good for them, yet they are proud enough to be ashamed of. I do assure you I never saw so universall a Discontent as there is among the highest most virulent and anti-church Whigs against that Bill and every Author or Abetter of it without Exception. They say publickly that having been the most loyall submissive complying Subjects that ever Prince had, no Subjects were ever so ill treated.[1]

The comparison between Ireland and Scotland in the above quotation might be taken to indicate that Swift recalled the comparisons he had made at the time of the Union, and was moved to add to the tale of Ireland's woes this fresh imposition which he describes as insufferable;

for he pretends that whatever Orders he shall think fit to prescribe for the future in his Family, he may, if he will, compel mine to observe them, without asking my Advice or hearing my Reasons.[2]

In any case *The Story of the Injured Lady* forms a very apt introduction to the political tracts that are contained in this volume, and shows the attitude which Swift adopted as he began again to take an active part in Irish affairs. In an earlier letter to Ford, written on December 8, 1719, he had confessed that he was finding it very difficult to hold himself aloof any longer.

But as the World is now turned, no Cloyster is retired enough to keep Politicks out, and I will own they raise my Passions whenever they come in my way, perhaps more than yours who live amongst them, as a great noise is likelyer to disturb a Hermit than a Citizen.[3]

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[1] See *Letters to Ford*, ed. D. Nichol Smith, Oxford, 1935, pp. 85-6.
[2] See below, p. 8.
[3] See *Letters to Ford*, p. 82.

Now again he is about to break the silence which had lasted since his return to Dublin soon after the death of Queen Anne. He has given us a good account of his life during these years in a letter addressed to Pope, dated January 10, 1720/1, which I have included among his prose writings in this volume.[1] Though it was first printed in the volume of their private correspondence, published by Cooper in London in April, 1741, and by Faulkner in Dublin in June, 1741, we know on the authority of Pope and of Lord Orrery that Pope never received it. Nor is this surprising, as it was clearly intended to be a public statement of his position given in the form of a *Letter to Pope*, rather than a private communication. In the opening paragraph he says:

> I rather chuse to appeal to you than to my Lord Chief Justice Whitshed, under the situation I am in. For, I take this cause properly to lie before you: You are a much fitter Judge of what concerns the credit of a Writer, the injuries that are done him, and the reparations he ought to receive.[2]

It was written, moreover, not only to appeal against the action of Whitshed in prosecuting the printer of his *Proposal for the*

[1] See *Corr.* iii, 113-23. Elrington Ball notes: 'This letter has been dated in previous editions 1720/21, but as Sir Henry Craik remarks (*Life*, ii, 60) it is evident from the contents that it cannot have been written until a year later.' It seems to me however that in his appeal to Pope against Whitshed and in his protest against being regarded as the author of *A Dedication concerning Dedications* the main contents imply the earlier date, Jan., 1720/21. And the one sentence (p. 27 below) referring to the Duke of Grafton's granting of a *noli prosequi* after his arrival in August, 1721, is an obvious interpolation in that paragraph, pushed in very awkwardly between two sentences referring to Whitshed. It was probably added by Swift later when the letter was first printed by Faulkner for insertion into the volume which Pope was preparing to publish in London in 1741. See Maynard Mack, '*The First Printing of the Letters of Pope and Swift*,' *The Library*, xix (Mar., 1939), pp. 465-85, and Vinton A. Dearing, 'New Light on the First Printing of the Letters of Pope and Swift,' *The Library*, xxiv (June, 1943), pp. 74-80.

[2] See below, p. 25.

universal Use of Irish Manufacture, but also to repudiate a treatise called *A Dedication concerning Dedications*,[1] containing a panegyric on King George, which had been maliciously ascribed to him. He had been taunted for it in a *Letter to Dean Swift*,[2] and took this opportunity to make a characteristic reply.

> But above all, there is one Circumstance which maketh it impossible for me to have been Author of a Treatise, wherein there are several pages containing a Panegyrick on King George, of whose character and person I am utterly ignorant, nor ever had once the curiosity to enquire into either, living at so great a distance as I do, and having long done with whatever can relate to publick matters.[3]

This was obviously not written for Pope's private ear alone, and the conclusion of the letter supplies further proof that he intended it to be printed as a public statement. For he says:

> I am not ignorant how idle a thing it is for a man in obscurity to attempt defending his reputation as a Writer, while the

[1] A footnote in Curll's edition of the *Letters*, 1741, ascribes the authorship to *Thomas Gordon*, Esq., Author of the *Independent Whig*.

[2] A Letter To the Reverend Mr. Dean *Swift*, Occasion'd by a Satire Said to be written by Him, Entitled, A Dedication to a Great Man, concerning Dedications. Discovering among other wonderful Secrets, what will be the present Posture of Affairs a thousand Years hence. By a Sparkish Pamphleteer of Button's Coffee-House. London, Printed for James Roberts in Warwick-Lane. 1719. Dated Covent-Garden, Jan. 30, 1718-9. N.B. especially the following passage:

'Some have wonder'd how Doctor *Swift*, whose Affection to the Church was never doubted, tho' his Christianity was ever question'd, should think the worse of some of the Clergy for their Trampling upon Loyalty and Oaths; and, for all his Reverence for the late Q—— and her Counsellors, should make such honourable Mention of King *George* and his Ministers, but as it is well known you never were a Slave to Constancy and Principle we can easily account for this your Behaviour, and in Defence of it say, in this Instance, you have put off Prejudice, and resum'd your Understanding.'

[3] See below, p. 28.

spirit of Faction hath so universally possessed the minds of men, that they are not at leisure to attend to any thing else. . . .

All I can reasonably hope for by this letter, is to convince my friends and others who are pleased to wish me well, that I have neither been so ill a Subject nor so stupid an Author, as I have been represented by the virulence of Libellers, whose malice hath taken the same train in both, by fathering dangerous principles in government upon me, which I never maintained, and insipid productions which I am not capable of writing. For, however I may have been sowered by personal ill treatment, or by melancholy prospects for the publick, I am too much a politician to expose my own safety by offensive words: and, if my genius and spirit be sunk by encreasing years, I have at least enough discretion left, not to mistake the measure of my own abilities, by attempting subjects where those talents are necessary, which perhaps I may have lost with my youth.[1]

This letter has often been quoted as an admirable statement of Swift's political principles, but we are here concerned rather with the short account which it provides of his literary life from 1714 to 1720:

In a few weeks after the loss of that excellent Princess, I came to my station here; where I have continued ever since in the greatest privacy, and utter ignorance of those events which are most commonly talked of in the world; . . . I had indeed written some Memorials of the four last years of the Queen's reign, with some other informations, which I received, as necessary materials to qualify me for doing something in an employment then designed me: . . . These papers, at my few hours of health and leisure, I have been digesting into order by one sheet at a time. . . .[2]

In the preceding volume of this edition,[3] fresh evidence has been provided from manuscript materials which corroborates Swift's

[1] See below, pp. 33-4.

[2] See below, pp. 25-6.

[3] This volume has not yet been printed, and must wait until these manuscripts will be again available.

own account of his activities, and shows some of the stages of this work of ordering and revising his memoirs of the Queen's reign.

He then proceeds to give an account of the innocence of his intentions when, in 1720, he had published a little paper to urge the Irish people to use their own manufactures. In his *Proposal* he succeeds in maintaining the quiet tone of argument suggested by the modesty of the title, but he is not able wholly to restrain those passionate feelings which were the source of his power in all his writings on Irish affairs. His hatred for the oppressive measures of the Whig government in London is mingled with contempt for the lack of opposition on the part of the miserable people of Ireland. He attacks alike the Irish House of Commons, who neglect the state of the nation and busy themselves with great refinements in politics and divinity, and the unthinking shopkeepers of Dublin who are destitute of commonsense. But then he proceeds to the more dangerous business of proposing a campaign to boycott all English goods and to rouse feeling against England. Publication had been carefully timed so that the pamphlet came out shortly before the celebrations in honour of the sixtieth birthday of King George on May 28, 1720.[1] Contemporary readers quickly seized upon such sentences as those in which Swift turns to his purpose the fable of Arachne and Pallas. Poor Arachne's cruel sentence

> is *fully executed* upon *Us* by *England*, with further Additions of *Rigor* and *Severity*. For the greatest Part of *our Bowels and Vitals* is extracted, without allowing us the Liberty of *spinning* and *weaving* them.[2]

And then even more directly and ominously he turns to Scripture to clinch the matter:

> The Scripture tells us, that *Oppression makes a wise Man mad*; therefore, consequently speaking, the Reason why some Men are not *mad*, is because they are not *wise*: However, it were to

[1] See below, p. 16.

[2] See below, p. 18.

be wished that *Oppression* would, in Time, teach a little *Wisdom* to *Fools*.[1]

According to Swift's account Lord Midleton, the Chancellor,

> afraid of losing his office and the Chief Justice, desirous to come into it, were both vying who should show their zeal most to discountenance the pamphlet. The printer was tried with a jury of the most violent party men, who yet brought him in not guilty, but were sent back nine times, and at last brought in a special verdict, so that the man is to be tried again next term.[2]

Swift thereupon engaged some friends to approach Sir Thomas Hanmer and later wrote to him[3] directly with the request that he would prevail on the Duke of Grafton, the Lord Lieutenant, to order the Chief Justice to drop the matter. In this appeal he was successful and the matter ended in the grant of a *noli prosequi*. During these proceedings he provided Dublin with further entertainment by writing a ballad to the tune of Packington's Pound, entitled *An Excellent new Song on a seditious Pamphlet*,[4] with this pleasant refrain:

> Tho' a Printer and Dean
> Seditiously mean
> Our true *Irish* Hearts from old *England* to wean;
> We'll buy *English* Silks for our Wives and our Daughters,
> In Spight of his Deanship and Journeyman *Waters*.

In the last paragraph of his *Proposal* he had taken a fling at the project for establishing a bank in Dublin. The scheme hardly appears to have been a dangerous one financially or economically. The supporters of the Bank maintained that it would reduce the rates of interest and benefit trade and commerce. Its opponents, however, tried to discredit it as a project allied to the South Sea scheme and likely to lead to a similar financial crisis.

[1] See below, p. 18. [2] See *Corr.* iii, 65. [3] See *Corr.* iii, 64.
[4] See *Swift's Poems*, ed. H. Williams, Oxford, 1937, p. 236.

Swift naturally disliked it as a project which could benefit only the moneyed men at the expense of the landed classes. But he dealt with it as a matter worthy only of contempt. Whatever part he took in the controversy he was ready to have it forgotten, for he included none of these squibs later, either in the *Miscellanies* 1727-32, or in his *Collected Works*, 1735, with the exception of two short papers which in their final form give no indication of having been connected with this particular affair.[1]

Many editors have doubted the authenticity of these two pieces—*The Wonderful Wonder of Wonders* and *The Wonder of all the Wonders*, not wishing to hold Swift responsible for such questionable trifles. But the evidence that they are his work is, I believe, very strong. They were printed in *Miscellanies, The Third Volume*, 1732, and in Swift's own copy there are several slight corrections made in his own hand. Each of the titles is marked with the same sign that he used to mark his other contributions to this volume. These two pieces were also reprinted again in the first volume of the *Collected Works*, 1735.

[1] For convenience all these Bank Pamphlets are printed together in Appendix B. See below, pp. 279-321. Mr. Harold Williams has called my attention to the contemporary ascription of *The Wonder of All Wonders* to Sheridan in some verses written by William Tisdall in 1724, entitled *Tom-Punsibi Metamorphosed:* or, *The Giber Gibbed*: reprinted in *Gulliveriana* (1728), pp. 260-4. See *Poems*, p. 1123:

> He writ *The Wonder of all Wonders*;
> He writ The Blunder of all Blunders.

I would agree that this confirms the usual ascription of *The Blunder of all Blunders* to Sheridan; but it was printed as a reply to *The Wonder*, etc., and it seems unlikely that he wrote both. It would seem probable that *The Wonder*, etc., came from the same pen as the *Riddle on the Posteriors*; see *Poems*, pp. 917-8.

Orrery quotes the same verses in his MSS. notes to his own interleaved copy of the *Remarks* (Harvard MS. Eng. 218. 14, p. 84) without any comment on the ascription of these pieces to Sheridan. He says only that they had been given to him many years before by Dean Ward; but he had not introduced them into Sheridan's character, 'as finding the Satyr too severe'.

It is obviously only the title and the general subject of the first paper, *The Wonderful Wonder of Wonders*, which can be taken as a symbol of his contemptuous disgust for the Bank project; but in the original edition there was a sentence, later omitted, which specifically refers in a very crude and ambiguous fashion to the 'greatest and wisest people trusting him with all their ready money'. The second paper, *The Wonder of all the Wonders*, which I confess had always seemed to me rather pointless, was unquestionably written to burlesque the project by associating it with the most preposterous swindlers and quacks. The Yale Library possesses a copy of this paper reprinted (together with another Dublin piece) in London by Roberts in March, 1721/2, which contains the following paragraph, omitted in all later editions, connecting the satire clearly enough with the Bank project:

> FINALLY, He takes from any Gentlemen, Ladies, Widows or Orphans, all the Ready Cash they can muster, with Bond and Judgment for all they are or ever will be Worth; which he secures to his own Use, for the Advantage of the said Widows, &c. and the Benefit of the whole Kingdom: And this he as certainly performs to their Satisfaction, as any of his indubitable Operations before-mention'd.

The title page is embellished with the motto, *Quae Majora putes Miracula?* and 'a short Key to the whole' describes it as—

> manifestly a sharp, tho' merry, Piece of Satyr upon some great Wonder-working Projector, or Company of Projectors, whose Misfortune it is unhappily to propose such Schemes as meet with little or no Encouragement or Success, and are entertain'd only with the utmost Derision and Contempt: And it is evident from the prevailing, but perhaps unjust and mistaken Notions of the *Bank* of *Ireland*, that both these Pieces were peculiarly adapted to expose that Project to Ridicule, . . .[1]

The similarity in the titles of the two pieces and in the phrase which occurs at the beginning of each—namely, 'newly arrived at

[1] See below, p. 311.

this City' and 'lately arrived at this City'—points to a common purpose, and thus directs us to the implications of Swift's unsavoury burlesque.

The proposal to set up a bank in Dublin was first put forward in a petition signed by the Earl of Abercorn and others in 1720 and approved by the King on July 29, 1721. The matter was then referred to the Irish Parliament which met on September 12 when the proposal seemed likely to be favourably received in both Houses. The debates which continued until December were accompanied by a violent controversy in Dublin in the course of which a series of papers were printed stating the various views. At the same time a number of satirical pieces, broadsides and verses appeared which succeeded in stirring up a widespread feeling of distrust. There can be little doubt that Swift and his friends were responsible for some of these trifles.

Most editors have accepted as his work *The Swearers Bank, or Parliamentary Security for a new Bank*, which was first printed in Dublin by Thomas Hume without author's name or initials and later reprinted in London by Roberts as 'written by Dean Swift', together with *An Essay upon English Bubbles* by Thomas Hope, Esq. I can find no evidence that Swift had anything to do with either of these pieces, and many indications in the style that they were not his work. There is no reference to them in any letter by Swift or his friends. The printer, Thomas Hume, did not, as far as I know, print anything by Swift or have any dealings with him; whereas we know for certain that during these years Swift was making use of both J. Hyde, whom he had recommended as a bookseller of good repute to handle subscriptions for Prior,[1] and John Harding, who was later employed to print the *Drapier's Letters*. Harding had just printed the Epilogue[2] written by Swift to be used at the Theatre Royal on April 1, 1721, at a benefit performance in behalf of the distressed weavers of Dublin, and during November, 1721, he printed several short papers concerned with the subscribers to the Bank. The first

[1] See *Corr.* iii, 29.

[2] See *Poems*, p. 273.

paper,[1] printed about the middle of November, professes to be a careful analysis of the list of subscribers to the Bank which had been published by order of the Commissioners appointed to receive subscriptions. This was definitely attributed to Swift at the time. One of the last papers, printed in December, 1721, addressed to Henry Maxwell, Esq., who had argued in favour of a Bank, has this postscript drawing attention to *Subscribers to the Bank, &c.*:

> To shew you that what I mention'd about the angry Priests is true, there is now a Paper of Scandal handed about by the Hawkers, as SWIFT as Lightning, that will blast your favourite Bank, tho' you love it as *David* did JONATHAN, tho' by the by, the Author is a little mistaken in Case of the Nobility, for all the Dukes and Marquesses of this Kingdom, except one, have nothing to say against the Bank; and 'tis hard to think such an inconsiderable Rabble as he makes the rest to be, can be able to devour and destroy 2,000,000 of People, had they as much Cruelty, and as good Stomacks as CANIBALLS.

The second,[2] *A Letter to the King at Arms*, which has always been accepted as Swift's work, is in the form of a letter, dated November 18, 1721, from one of the subscribers who resents the insinuation that he and some others were only *reputed* Esquires, and proceeds to show his pretensions to that title and boasts about his future hopes of profit from the Bank which will enable him to support his position with dignity. The third,[3] dated December 1, 1721, is a further comment on the list of subscribers in *A Letter from a Lady in Town to her Friend in the Country*. The arguments for and against the proposal are fully explained, the pamphlets of Mr. Rowley and Mr. Maxwell discussed, and finally two important points in the situation clarified in a manner very similar to that of the Drapier—namely, the emphatic denial that the Lord Lieutenant had interested himself in favour of the Bank; and the charge against the Commissioners that they had

[1] See Appendix B, p. 288. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 291. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 299.

improperly taken subscriptions before the question had been decided in Parliament.

On December 9, the House of Commons received the report of their committee and voted that 'they could not find any safe foundation for establishing a public Bank'; and a week later the House of Lords passed a resolution condemning the project as in the present circumstances 'Prejudicial and of Extream ill Consequence to this Kingdom', and declaring any Lord, spiritual or temporal, who should attempt to procure a Charter for a Bank without the consent of Parliament 'a Contemner of the Authority of this House, and a Betrayer of the Liberty of his Country'.[1]

This triumph was celebrated in verse and prose from the press of John Harding. *The Bank thrown down*, to an Excellent new Tune,[2] has been accepted by Mr. Harold Williams as probably authentic. I have reprinted here another of Harding's broadsides, *The Last Speech and Dying Words of the Bank of Ireland*, which was executed at College Green on Saturday, the 9th inst., Dublin.[3] On December 11, the House being informed of this, resolved 'That the said printed paper was a false, scandalous and malicious Libel, highly reflecting on the justice and honour of the House', and the printer was ordered to be taken into the custody of the Sergeant-at-Arms. A committee was ordered to inquire into the authorship of the paper, but the matter seems to have been dropped.

A few months later there appeared another *Last Speech and Dying Words*,[4] written by Swift on the occasion of the execution of Ebenezor Elliston on May 2, 1722. This was originally printed as a broadside in the usual manner, only one copy is known: see p. 379 below. The Speech was reprinted in the Collected Works of 1735 with a note drawing attention to its good effect, which indicates that it was widely read when it first appeared.

It is worth remembering that with these tracts, written during the period 1720-22, Swift had already gained the ear of the Dublin populace before he began to address them as a linen

[1] See Appendix B, p. 319.
[2] See *Poems*, p. 286.
[3] See Appendix B, p. 306.
[4] See below p. 37.

draper of the city. In the meantime, in 1723, to a rather different audience he addressed a paper which he wrote as a churchman who proudly professed that he desired the continuance of the established Church in Ireland, and its transmission to posterity in at least as good a condition as it then was. *Some Arguments against enlarging the Power of Bishops*,[1] which was dated October 21, 1723, was intended to give information on the revenues of the church in Ireland, to those about to vote on a proposal to repeal the law regulating the leasing of church land. It is a strong plea to uphold a policy which over a period of centuries would preserve the actual value of the Episcopal revenues in spite of what Swift believed to be inevitable—namely,' *the perpetual Decrease of the Value of Gold and Silver*'. He takes occasion at the same time, with some anger and bitterness, to answer a pamphlet which had just reached him entitled *The Case of the Laity, with some Queries*, and with politeness and restraint deals with the prejudices against the clergy which Lord Molesworth had shown in his discourse addressed to Parliament on *The Encouragement of Agriculture*.

The non-political writings of these three years form a separate group. The first of these is generally known by the title *A Letter to a Young Clergyman*, though it was originally printed in 1720 at Dublin by E. Waters with the title *A Letter from a Lay-Patron to a Gentleman Designing for Holy Orders*, and, at the end, the signature A—— B——. Dr. Teerink found a copy in Marsh's Library, Dublin: I do not know of any other copy of this edition, but the text was reprinted with the same title in Samuel Fairbrother's *Miscellanies* in 1721. The same year it was printed in London with the more familiar title and with this rather unusual certificate of authenticity attached:

> It is certainly known, that the following treatise was writ in Ireland by the Rev. Dr. Swift, Dean of St. Patrick's, in that Kingdom.

The Letter, dated January 9, 1719/20, was probably never addressed to any particular person, but intended to answer the

[1] See below, p. 43.

A

LETTER

FROM

A Lay-Patron

TO A

GENTLEMAN.

Designing for

Holy ORDERS.

Quid igitur profuit vidisse te Veritatem quam nec defensurus esses nec secuturus. Lactant.

DUBLIN:

Printed by *E. Waters* in *Sycamore-Alley*, 1720.

general need of the young clergy, in a manner rather different from the series of such Letters, Directions and Advice addressed to young Divines on the subject of writing and delivering sermons, which had appeared not infrequently during the previous fifty years. It is characteristic of Swift that he chose to write from the point of view of a layman, a gentleman of the world, in the same tone that he had adopted in his religious pamphlets of 1708. In the first volume of the *Collected Works*, 1735, it is significantly placed immediately after the *Proposal for Improving the English Tongue*[1]; for its chief value is that it provides us with a further statement of Swift's views on the language and on style. He is mainly concerned to point out certain improprieties and barbarisms which may be easily remedied, and to proclaim the virtues of simplicity and plainness, not for their own sakes but as the only sure means to be understood by the common people. He dislikes Ciceronian eloquence and all rhetoric designed to inflame the passions: it is not effective in a northern climate; it does not leave an impression 'deep enough to last 'til the next morning, or rather to the next meal'. He advises against any attempt to display wit or learning, not as a general principle, but from his conviction that by the strictest computation hardly more than one in a million has either. Further, in his character as a lay patron, or a gentleman of quality, he states his own predilections for a general study of humane letters rather than a special preoccupation with metaphysics and theology; and takes occasion to declare his conviction, which never changed, that learning and civilization are the best allies of religion.

In 1721, there was published in Dublin by J. Hyde, *A Letter of Advice to a Young Poet*, signed E. F. and dated December 1, 1720. This was shortly afterwards reprinted in London as a sixpenny pamphlet, with the omission of the signature E. F. and the addition on the title-page of the words *By J. Swift*. No evidence or explanation was provided in support of this, but later editors and critics have accepted it without comment as Swift's work,

[1] Reprinted in Vol. V of this edition.

and in accordance with this tradition it is again reprinted here.[1] I must point out, however, that I can find no proof that Swift wrote it, no reference to it during his lifetime by himself or his intimate friends. If he wrote it, he either forgot it, or was unwilling to acknowledge it when he was providing material for the *Miscellanies*, 1727-32, and again in 1734 when he was looking over material for the Dublin edition of his *Collected Works*. Faulkner continued to ignore it in his edition even when it had been reprinted by Hawkesworth in 1768, in the thirteenth volume of his octavo edition. It may be that Swift simply forgot it, because it had been omitted from the *Miscellanies*. Whatever the explanation, many will say that it bears marks of his work and recalls his point of view in other writings, and therefore is unlikely to have come from any other hand.

But the date, December 1, 1720, presents a difficulty, unless the letter was written earlier and dated at the time of printing. We know that Swift was occupied just then with a poem which he finished and sent to Ford on December 15. He had spoken of it when Ford was in Dublin four or five weeks earlier. This is clear from the accompanying letter:

> I here send you the Thing I promised, as correct as I can make it, and it cost me Pains enough, whether it be good or no.[2]

As *The Bubble* was a long poem of fifty-five stanzas, in its original form, and cost Swift considerable pains, it was likely to have occupied most of his leisure for the four or five weeks before December 15, during which he had an attack of his recurring illness, and to have left him little time for the composition of a long pamphlet in prose.

It should be remembered also that early in 1720 J. Hyde had printed in Dublin a paper entitled *The Right of Precedence between Physicians and Civilians Enquir'd into*, which under the imprint J. Roberts was reprinted in London by Curll four times during that year, with a note dated *Dublin Castle*, February 3, 1720. '*Sir*, I

[1] See Appendix C, p. 325. [2] *Letters to Ford*, pp. 88 and 182.

here enclose to you a Pamphlet, written by Dr. *Swift*, in which you will find the *Humour* peculiar to that Gentleman.' This has been accepted by later editors as Swift's work, but since the discovery of Swift's letters to Ford, we have known that it was not written by him. In a letter of April 4, 1720, he writes:

> There is an honest humersom Gentleman here who amuses this Tŏwn sometimes with Trifles and some Knave or Fool transmitts them to Curl with a Hint that they are mine. There is one about Precedence of Doctors, we do not know who writt it; It is a very crude Piece, tho not quite so low as some others; This I hear is likewise a Present of Curl to me.[1]

It is at least suspicious that J. Hyde should again print a paper early in 1721—namely, the *Letter to a Young Poet*, and that this should similarly be reprinted immediately in London as by Dr. Swift, and included in the fourth edition of *Miscellanies* printed by Curll in 1722.

There is no doubt that it is a better piece of work than the *Right of Precedence*. If it was not written by Swift it is in part a good if not brilliant imitation by a writer who has studied carefully the *Letter to a Young Clergyman*, and has read with attention and appreciation the Digressions in *A Tale of a Tub*. I cannot feel sure that the 'humersom gentleman' could have done it, and yet a careful comparison of the *Right of Precedence* and the *Letter to a Young Poet* reveals certain trivial resemblances—*e.g.*, the use of the phrase 'But to proceed' to start a new paragraph, only one example of a number of various devices to hook his arguments together; a trick entirely unlike Swift of peppering his pages with parentheses such as 'I will take upon me to say', 'I will say thus much', 'as I was saying', 'Now I say', 'And truly', 'seriously then', 'I say, these things considered'; and finally a heavy use of adjectives and a tendency to overwork a figure or even indulge in such play as this—'To these devote your spare hours, or rather spare all your hours to them.' The latter part of the *Letter to a Young Poet* is particularly uneven and unfinished; for instance, in

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 87.

the last dozen pages, in addition to the use of the phrases 'Another point', 'Once more', and 'To conclude', the word 'lastly' occurs five times. Many things have to be explained before we can accept the *Letter to a Young Poet* as authentic.

There is fortunately no doubt whatever about the remaining paper, *A Letter to a young Lady*, etc., as we have the evidence of a fair copy in Swift's own hand, signed and dated. This manuscript, which is now in the Huntington Library, is almost certainly not the original draft, nor the copy used by the printer. It may well be the manuscript which Swift sent to the lady with instructions to keep it carefully in her cabinet, and often examine her whole conduct by it. It is beautifully written on quarto sheets in a large fair hand. It has only the formal superscription, *Madam*, without any indication of the person to whom it was addressed; but it has always been understood that it was written on the occasion of the marriage of Swift's friend, Mr. Rochfort. There has been some confusion whether it was addressed to Lady Betty, the wife of George Rochfort, or to Deborah Staunton, the wife of John Rochfort, who appears frequently in Swift's verses under the nickname of 'Nim'. But the letter is dated February 11, 1722/3 and was intended to reach the lady's hands, as Swift states, 'as soon as the hurry and impertinence of receiving and paying visits on account of her marriage would be over.' There can be no doubt therefore that it was addressed to Deborah Staunton,[1] who was married to John Rochfort on January 19, 1722/3, some eighteen years after the marriage of his elder brother George. It was first printed in the *Miscellanies* in 1727, and included in the first volume of Swift's *Collected Works* in 1735.

It is a very charming letter welcoming to the Deanery circle a very young lady, whose parents and husband were alike Swift's particular friends. In a poem describing a visit to the Rochforts at Gaulstown during the summer and autumn of 1721 Swift describes how they spent their days there.

[1] For information concerning the identity of 'the very young lady' I am indebted to Miss Katharine Hornbeak. See her article in the *Huntington Library Quarterly* (Feb., 1944), Vol. VII, No. 2, pp. 183-6.

Management which falls to your Share, and not to put your Self in the Number of those politick Ladyes, who think they gain a great Point, when they have teazed their Husbands to buy them a new Equipage a laced Head or a fine Petticoat, without once considering what long Scores remain unpayd to the Butcher.

I desire you will keep this Letter in your Cabinet, and often examine impartially your whole Conduct by it. And so God bless you, and make you a fair Example to your Sex, and a perpetuall Comfort to Your Husband and Your Parents

I am with great Truth and Affection

Madam

Your most faithfull Friend,
and humble Servt

Deanry house
Febr. 11th 1722–3.

Jonath Swift

A LETTER TO A YOUNG LADY.
Facsimile of MS. in Swift's hand-writing.

At Seven, the *Dean* in Night-gown drest,
Goes round the House to wake the rest.
At Nine, grave *Nim* and *George* facetious
Go to the *Dean* to read *Lucretius*.[1]

That same summer this 'loving pair of Gaulstown lads' often combined with a 'brace of grave Divines', the Dean and the Rev. Daniel Jackson, to write verses to their Dublin friends, which were usually signed *George Nim-Dan-Dean*. For the sake of such a grave and learned husband it was surely well to warn the very young lady that her parents had too much neglected to cultivate her mind, and the height of friendship to offer to be her tutor as he had already been her husband's. Some of the rest of Swift's advice may seem a little severe for a lady who had been married only a few weeks; but these directions were intended to serve her for the rest of her married life. The instructions given her concerning her behaviour with her husband in company, and her choice of acquaintance, may also be taken as kindly warnings to prepare her for her entrance into the circle of the Dean's acquaintance; and perhaps Swift took occasion to warn her against extravagance in dress and in the management of her household because he knew her husband to be a careful man—for, some years later, he refers to him, in a letter to Sheridan, as 'except that damned vice of avarice, . . . a very agreeable man.'[2]

But the letter is of general interest in giving Swift's views on the art of conversation in a society of men and women, and on the right method of study for a woman to attain those accomplishments which may be counted on to preserve the friendship of her husband, and to fit her for the company of men of learning and breeding. He is not afraid of the danger of her becoming a learned woman, if she will only remember that whatever pains she may be at she cannot hope to arrive at the perfection of a schoolboy. He is afraid only of dangers of another sort, and is chiefly concerned throughout to prevent her from turning into a 'modern lady' of the kind satirized in his poem written some

[1] See *Poems*, p. 278 and pp. 1019-1028. [2] See *Corr.* v, 347.

THE STORY OF THE INJURED LADY.

Written by Herself.

In a Letter to her Friend, with his ANSWER.

SIR,

BEING ruined by the Inconstancy and Unkindness of a Lover, I hope, a true and plain Relation of my Misfortunes may be of Use and Warning to credulous Maids, never to put too much Trust in deceitful Men.

A Gentleman in the Neighbourhood had two Mistresses, another and myself; and he pretended honourable Love to us both. Our three Houses stood pretty near one another; his was parted from mine by a River, and from my Rival's by an old broken Wall. But before I enter into the Particulars of this Gentleman's hard Usage of me, I will give a very just impartial Character of my Rival and myself.

As to her Person she is tall and lean, and very ill-shaped; she hath bad Features, and a worse Complexion; she hath a stinking Breath, and twenty ill Smells about her besides; which are yet more unsufferable by her natural Sluttishness; for she is always lousy, and never without the Itch. As to her other Qualities, she hath no Reputation either for Virtue, Honesty, Truth, or Manners; and it is no Wonder, considering what her Education hath been. Scolding and Cursing are her common Conversation. To sum up all; she is poor and beggarly, and gets a sorry Main-

tenance by pilfering whereever she comes. As for this Gentleman who is now so fond of her, she still beareth him an invincible Hatred; revileth him to his Face, and raileth at him in all Companies. Her House is frequented by a Company of Rogues and Thieves, and Pickpockets, whom she encourageth to rob his Hen-roosts, steal his Corn and Cattle, and do him all manner of Mischief. She hath been known to come at the Head of these Rascals, and beat her Lover until he was sore from Head to Foot, and then force him to pay for the Trouble she was at. Once, attended with a Crew of Raggamuffins, she broke into his House, turned all Things topsy-turvy, and then set it on Fire. At the same Time she told so many Lies among his Servants, that it set them all by the Ears, and his poor Steward was knocked on the Head; for which I think, and so doth all the Country, that she ought to be answerable. To conclude her Character; she is of a different Religion, being a Presbyterian of the most rank and virulent Kind, and consequently having an inveterate Hatred to the Church; yet, I am sure, I have been always told, that in Marriage there ought to be an Union of Minds as well as of Persons.

I will now give my own Character, and shall do it in few Words, and with Modesty and Truth.

I was reckoned to be as handsome as any in our Neighbourhood, until I became pale and thin with Grief and ill Usage. I am still fair enough, and have, I think, no very ill Feature about me. They that see me now will hardly allow me ever to have had any great Share of Beauty; for besides being so much altered, I go always mobbed and in an Undress, as well out of Neglect, as indeed for want of Cloaths to appear in. I might add to all this, that I was born to a good Estate, although it now turneth to little Account under the Oppressions I endure, and hath been the true Cause of all my Misfortunes.

Some Years ago, this Gentleman taking a Fancy either to my Person or Fortune, made his Addresses to me; which, being then young and foolish, I too readily admitted; he seemed to use me with so much Tenderness, and his Conversation was so very engaging, that all my Constancy and Virtue were too soon over-

come; and, to dwell no longer upon à Theme that causeth such bitter Reflections, I must confess with Shame, that I was undone by the common Arts practised upon all easy credulous Virgins, half by Force, and half by Consent, after solemn Vows and Protestations of Marriage. When he had once got Possession, he soon began to play the usual Part of a too fortunate Lover, affecting on all Occasions to shew his Authority, and to act like a Conqueror. First, he found Fault with the Government of my Family, which I grant, was none of the best, consisting of ignorant illiterate Creatures; for at that Time, I knew but little of the World. In compliance to him, therefore, I agreed to fall into his Ways and Methods of Living; I consented that his Steward should govern my House, and have Liberty to employ an Under-Steward, who should receive his Directions. My Lover proceeded further, turning away several old Servants and Tenants, and supplying me with others from his own House. These grew so domineering and unreasonable, that there was no Quiet, and I heard of nothing but perpetual Quarrels, which although I could not possibly help, yet my Lover laid all the Blame and Punishment upon me; and upon every Falling-out, still turned away more of my People, and supplied me in their Stead with a Number of Fellows and Dependents of his own, whom he had no other Way to provide for. Overcome by Love, and to avoid Noise and Contention, I yielded to all his Usurpations, and finding it in vain to resist, I thought it my best Policy to make my Court to my new Servants, and draw them to my Interests; I fed them from my own Table with the best I had, put my new Tenants on the choice Parts of my Land, and treated them all so kindly, that they began to love me as well as their Master. In process of Time, all my old Servants were gone, and I had not a Creature about me, nor above one or two Tenants but what were of his chusing; yet I had the good Luck by gentle Usage to bring over the greatest Part of them to my Side. When my Lover observed this, he began to alter his Language; and, to those who enquired about me, he would answer, that I was an old Dependent upon his Family, whom he had placed on some Concerns of his own; and he began to use me accordingly, neg-

lecting by Degrees all common Civility in his Behaviour. I shall never forget the Speech he made me one Morning, which he delivered with all the Gravity in the World. He put me in Mind of the vast Obligations I lay under to him, in sending me so many of his People for my own Good, and to teach me Manners: That it had cost him ten Times more than I was worth, to maintain me: That it had been much better for him if I had been damned, or burnt, or sunk to the Bottom of the Sea: That it was but reasonable I should strain myself as far as I was able, to reimburse him some of his Charges: That from henceforward he expected his Word should be a Law to me in all Things: That I must maintain a Parish-watch against Thieves and Robbers, and give Salaries to an Overseer, a Constable, and Others, all of his own chusing, whom he would send from Time to Time to be Spies upon me: That, to enable me the better in supporting these Expences, my Tenants shall be obliged to carry all their Goods cross the River to his Town-market, and pay Toll on both Sides, and then sell them at half Value. But because we were a nasty Sort of People, and that he could not endure to touch any Thing we had a Hand in, and likewise, because he wanted Work to employ his own Folks, therefore we must send all our Goods to his Market just in their Naturals; the Milk immediately from the Cow without making it into Cheese or Butter; the Corn in the Ear; the Grass as it is mowed; the Wool as it cometh from the Sheeps Back; and bring the Fruit upon the Branch, that he might not be obliged to eat it after our filthy Hands: That, if a Tenant carried but a Piece of Bread and Cheese to eat by the Way, or an Inch of Worsted to mend his Stockings, he should forfeit his whole Parcel: And because a Company of Rogues usually plied on the River between us, who often robbed my Tenants of their Goods and Boats, he ordered a Waterman of his to guard them, whose Manner was to be out of the Way until the poor Wretches were plundered; then to overtake the Thieves, and seize all as lawful Prize to his Master and himself. It would be endless to repeat an hundred other Hardships he hath put upon me; but it is a general Rule, that whenever he imagines the smallest Advantage will redound to one of his Foot-boys by any new Oppression of

me and my whole Family and Estate, he never disputeth it a Moment. All this hath rendered me so very insignificant and contemptible at Home, that some Servants to whom I pay the greatest Wages, and many Tenants who have the most beneficial Leases, are gone over to live with him; yet I am bound to continue their Wages, and pay their Rents; by which Means one Third Part of my whole Income is spent on his Estate, and above another Third by his Tolls and Markets; and my poor Tenants are so sunk and impoverished, that, instead of maintaining me suitable to my Quality, they can hardly find me Cloaths to keep me warm, or provide the common Necessaries of Life for themselves.

Matters being in this Posture between me and my Lover; I received Intelligence that he had been for some Time making very pressing Overtures of Marriage to my Rival, until there happened some Misunderstandings between them; she gave him ill Words, and threatened to break off all Commerce with him. He, on the other Side, having either acquired Courage by his Triumphs over me, or supposing her as tame a Fool as I, thought at first to carry it with a high Hand; but hearing at the same Time, that she had Thoughts of making some private Proposals to join with me against him, and doubting with very good Reason that I would readily accept them, he seemed very much disconcerted. This I thought was a proper Occasion to shew some great Example of Generosity and Love; and so, without further Consideration, I sent him Word, that hearing there was like to be a Quarrel between him and my Rival; notwithstanding all that had passed, and without binding him to any Conditions in my own Favour, I would stand by him against her and all the World, while I had a Penny in my Purse, or a Petticoat to pawn. This Message was subscribed by all my chief Tenants; and proved so powerful, that my Rival immediately grew more tractable upon it. The Result of which was, that there is now a Treaty of Marriage concluded between them, the Wedding Cloaths are bought, and nothing remaineth but to perform the Ceremony, which is put off for some Days, because they design it to be a publick Wedding. And to reward my Love, Constancy, and

Generosity, he hath bestowed on me the Office of being Sempstress to his Grooms and Footmen, which I am forced to accept or starve. Yet, in the Midst of this my Situation, I cannot but have some Pity for this deluded Man, to cast himself away on an infamous Creature, who, whatever she pretendeth, I can prove, would at this very Minute rather be a Whore to a certain Great Man, that shall be nameless, if she might have her Will. For my Part, I think, and so doth all the Country too, that the Man is possessed; at least none of us are able to imagine what he can possibly see in her, unless she hath bewitched him, or given him some Powder.

I am sure, I never sought his Alliance, and you can bear me Witness, that I might have had other Matches; nay, if I were lightly disposed, I could still perhaps have Offers, that some, who hold their Heads higher, would be glad to accept. But alas, I never had any such wicked Thought; all I now desire is, only to enjoy a little Quiet, to be free from the Persecutions of this unreasonable Man, and that he will let me manage my own little Fortune to the best Advantage; for which I will undertake to pay him a considerable Pension every Year, much more considerable than what he now gets by his Oppressions; for he must needs find himself a Loser at last, when he hath drained me and my Tenants so dry, that we shall not have a Penny for him or ourselves. There is one Imposition of his, I had almost forgot, which I think unsufferable, and will appeal to you, or any reasonable Person, whether it be so or not. I told you before, that by an old Compact we agreed to have the same Steward, at which Time I consented likewise to regulate my Family and Estate by the same Method with him, which he then shewed me writ down in Form, and I approved of. Now, the Turn he thinks fit to give this Compact of ours is very extraordinary; for he pretends that whatever Orders he shall think fit to prescribe for the future in his Family, he may, if he will, compel mine to observe them, without asking my Advice or hearing my Reasons. So that I must not make a Lease without his Consent, or give any Directions for the well-governing of my Family, but what he countermands whenever he pleaseth. This leaveth me at such

Confusion and Uncertainty, that my Servants know not when to obey me, and my Tenants, although many of them be very well inclined, seem quite at a Loss.

But, I am too tedious upon this melancholy Subject, which however, I hope, you will forgive, since the Happiness of my whole Life dependeth upon it. I desire you will think a while, and give your best Advice what Measures I shall take with Prudence, Justice, Courage, and Honour, to protect my Liberty and Fortune against the Hardships and Severities I lie under from that unkind, inconstant Man.

THE
ANSWER
TO THE
INJURED LADY.

MADAM,

I HAVE received your Ladyship's Letter, and carefully considered every Part of it, and shall give you my Opinion how you ought to proceed for your own Security. But first, I must beg Leave to tell your Ladyship, that you were guilty of an unpardonable Weakness the other Day, in making that Offer to your Lover, of standing by him in any Quarrel he might have with your Rival; you know very well, that she began to apprehend he had Designs of using her as he had done you; and common Prudence might have directed you rather to have entered into some Measures with her for joining against him, until he might at least be brought to some reasonable Terms: But your invincible Hatred to that Lady hath carried your Resentments so high, as to be the Cause of your Ruin; yet, if you please to consider, this Aversion of yours began a good while before she became your Rival, and was taken up by you and your Family in a Sort of Compliment to your Lover, who formerly had a great Abhorrence for her. It is true, since that Time you have suffered very much by her Encroachments upon your Estate, but she never pretended to govern or direct you; and now you have drawn a new Enemy upon yourself; for I think you may count upon all the ill Offices she can possibly do you by her Credit with her Husband; whereas, if instead of openly declaring against her without any Provocation, you had but sat still a while, and said nothing, that Gentleman would have lessened his Severity to you

out of perfect Fear. This Weakness of yours, you call Generosity; but I doubt there was more in the Matter: In short, Madam, I have good Reasons to think you were betrayed to it by the pernicious Counsels of some about you: For, to my certain Knowledge, several of your Tenants and Servants, to whom you have been very kind, are as arrant Rascals as any in the Country. I cannot but observe what a mighty Difference there is in one Particular between your Ladyship and your Rival. Having yielded up your Person, you thought nothing else worth defending, and therefore you will not now insist upon those very Conditions for which you yielded at first. But your Ladyship cannot be ignorant, that some Years since your Rival did the same Thing, and upon no Conditions at all; nay, this Gentleman kept her as a Miss, and yet made her pay for her very Diet and Lodging. But, it being at a Time when he had no Steward, and his Family out of Order, she stole away, and hath now got the Trick, very well known among Women of the Town, to grant a Man the Favour over Night, and the next Day have the Impudence to deny it to his Face. But, it is too late to reproach you with any former Oversights, which cannot now be rectified. I know the Matters of Fact as you relate them are true and fairly represented. My Advice therefore is this. Get your Tenants together as soon as you conveniently can, and make them agree to the following Resolutions.

First. That your Family and Tenants have no Dependence upon the said Gentleman, further than by the old Agreement, which obligeth you to have the same Steward, and to regulate your Household by such Methods as you shall both agree to.

Secondly. That you will not carry your Goods to the Market of his Town, unless you please, nor be hindered from carrying them any where else.

Thirdly. That the Servants you pay Wages to shall live at Home, or forfeit their Places.

Fourthly. That whatever Lease you make to a Tenant, it shall not be in his Power to break it.

If he will agree to these Articles, I advise you to contribute as largely as you can to all Charges of Parish and County.

I can assure you, several of that Gentleman's ablest Tenants and Servants are against his severe Usage of you, and would be glad of an Occasion to convince the rest of their Error, if you will not be wanting to yourself.

If the Gentleman refuses these just and reasonable Offers, pray let me know it, and, perhaps I may think of something else that will be more effectual.

I am,

MADAM,

Your Ladyship's, &c.

A

PROPOSAL

For the universal Use

Of *Irish* Manufacture,

IN

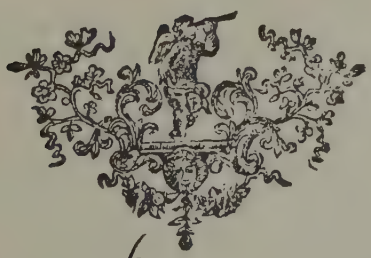
Cloaths and Furniture of Houses, *&c.*

UTTERLY

Rejecting and *Renouncing*

Every Thing wearable that comes from

ENGLAND.



6

Dublin : Printed and Sold by *E. Waters*, in *Essex-street*, at the Corner of *Sycamore-Alley*, 1720.

A

PROPOSAL

FOR THE

UNIVERSAL USE

OF

Irish MANUFACTURE, *&c.*

IT is the peculiar Felicity and Prudence of the People in this Kingdom, that whatever Commodities, or Productions, lie under the greatest Discouragements from *England*, those are what they are sure to be most industrious in cultivating and spreading. *Agriculture*, which hath been the principal Care of all wise Nations, and for the Encouragement whereof there are so many Statute-Laws in *England*, we countenance so well, that the Landlords are every where, by *penal Clauses*, absolutely prohibiting their Tenants from Plowing; not satisfied to confine them within certain Limitations, as it is the Practice of the *English*; one Effect of which, is already seen in the prodigious Dearness of Corn, and the Importation of it from *London*, as the cheaper Market: And, because People are the *Riches of a Country*, and that our *Neighbours* have done, and are doing all that in them lie, to make our Wool a Drug to us, and a Monopoly to them; therefore, the politick Gentlemen of *Ireland* have depopulated vast Tracts of the best Land, for the feeding of Sheep.

I COULD fill a Volume as large as the *History of the wise Men of Goatham*, with a Catalogue only of some *wonderful* Laws and Customs we have observed within thirty Years past. It is true, indeed, our beneficial Traffick of Wool with *France*, hath been our only Support for several Years past; furnishing us all the

little Money we have to pay our Rents, and go to Market. But our Merchants assure me, *This Trade hath received a great Damp by the present fluctuating Condition of the Coin in* France; *and that most of their Wine is paid for in Specie, without carrying thither any Commodity from hence.*

HOWEVER, since we are so universally bent upon enlarging our *Flocks*, it may be worth inquiring, what we shall do with our Wool, in case *Barnstable* should be over-stocked, and our *French* Commerce should fail?

I SHOULD wish the Parliament had thought fit to have suspended their Regulation of *Church* Matters, and Enlargements of the *Prerogative*, until a more convenient Time, because they did not appear very pressing, (at least to the Persons *principally concerned*) and, instead of those great Refinements in *Politicks* and *Divinity*, had *amused* Themselves and their Committees, a little, with the *State of the Nation*. For Example: What if the House of Commons had thought fit to make a Resolution, *Nemine Contradicente*, against wearing any Cloath or Stuff in their Families, which were not of the Growth and Manufacture of this Kingdom? What if they had extended it so far, as utterly to exclude all Silks, Velvets, Calicoes, and the whole *Lexicon* of Female Fopperies; and declared, that whoever acted otherwise, should be deemed and reputed *an Enemy to the Nation*? What if they had sent up such a Resolution to be agreed to by the House of Lords; and by their own Practice and Encouragement, spread the Execution of it in their several Countries? What if we should agree to make *burying in Woollen* a *Fashion*, as our Neighbours have made it a *Law*? What if the Ladies would be content with *Irish* Stuffs for the Furniture of their Houses, for Gowns and Petticoats to themselves and their Daughters? Upon the whole, and to crown all the rest, let a firm Resolution be taken, by *Male* and *Female*, never to appear with one single *Shred* that comes from *England; and let all the People say, AMEN.*

I HOPE, and believe, nothing could please his Majesty better than to hear that his loyal Subjects, of both Sexes, in this Kingdom, celebrated his *Birth-Day* (now approaching) *universally* clad in their own Manufacture. Is there Vertue enough left in this de-

luded People to save them from the Brink of Ruin? If the Mens Opinions may be taken, the Ladies will look as handsome in Stuffs as Brocades, and, since all will be equal, there may be room enough to employ their Wit and Fancy in chusing and matching of Patterns and Colours. I heard the late Archbishop of *Tuam* mention a pleasant Observation of some Body's; *that* Ireland *would never be happy 'till a Law were made for* burning *every Thing that came from* England, *except their* People *and their* Coals: I must confess, that as to the former, I should not be sorry if they would stay at home; and for the latter, I hope, in a little Time we shall have no Occasion for them.

Non tanti mitra est, non tanti Judicis ostrum.

But I should rejoice to see a *Stay-Lace* from *England* be thought *scandalous*, and become a Topick for *Censure* at *Visits* and *Tea Tables*.

If the unthinking Shopkeepers in this Town, had not been *utterly* destitute of common Sense, they would have made some *Proposal to the Parliament*, with a *Petition* to the Purpose I have mentioned; promising to improve the *Cloaths and Stuffs of the Nation, into all possible Degrees of Fineness and Colours, and engaging not to play the Knave, according to their Custom, by exacting and imposing upon the Nobility and Gentry, either as to the Prices or the Goodness*. For I remember, in *London*, upon a general Mourning, the *rascally Mercers* and *Woollen Drapers*, would, in Four and Twenty Hours, raise their *Cloaths* and *Silks* to above a double Price; and if the Mourning continued long, then come whingeing with *Petitions* to the *Court, that they were ready to starve, and their Fineries lay upon their Hands*.

I could wish our Shopkeepers would immediately think on this *Proposal*, addressing it to all Persons of Quality, and others; but first be sure to get some Body who can write Sense, to put it into Form.

I think it needless to exhort the *Clergy* to follow this good Example, because, *in a little Time, those among them who are so unfortunate to have had their Birth and Education in this Country, will think themselves abundantly happy when they can afford* Irish *Crape, and*

an Athlone *Hat*; and as to the others, I *shall not presume* to direct them. I have, indeed, seen the present Archbishop of *Dublin* clad from Head to Foot in our own Manufacture; and yet, under the Rose be it spoken, *his Grace deserves as good a Gown, as if he had not been born among us.*

I HAVE not Courage enough to offer *one Syllable* on this Subject to *their Honours* of the Army: Neither have I sufficiently considered the great Importance of *Scarlet* and *Gold Lace.*

THE Fable, in *Ovid*, of *Arachne* and *Pallas*, is to this Purpose. The Goddess had heard of one *Arachne* a young Virgin, very famous for *Spinning* and *Weaving*: They both met upon a Tryal of Skill; and *Pallas* finding herself almost equalled in her own Art, stung with Rage and Envy, knockt her *Rival* down, turned her into a *Spyder*, enjoining her to *spin* and *weave* for ever, *out of her own Bowels*, and *in a very narrow Compass.* I confess, that from a Boy, I always pitied poor *Arachne*, and could never heartily love the Goddess, on Account of so *cruel and unjust a Sentence*; which, however, is *fully executed* upon *Us* by *England*, with further Additions of *Rigor* and *Severity*. For the greatest Part of *our Bowels and Vitals* is extracted, without allowing us the Liberty of *spinning* and *weaving* them.

THE Scripture tells us, that *Oppression makes a wise Man mad*; therefore, consequently speaking, the Reason why some Men are not *mad*, is because they are not *wise*: However, it were to be wished that *Oppression* would, in Time, teach a little *Wisdom* to *Fools.*

I WAS much delighted with a Person, who hath a great Estate in this Kingdom, upon his Complaints to me, *how grievously* POOR England *suffers by Impositions from* Ireland. *That we convey our own Wool to* France, *in Spight of all the* Harpies *at the Custom-House. That Mr.* Shutleworth, *and others on the* Cheshire *Coasts, are such Fools to sell us their* Bark *at a good Price, for tanning* our own Hydes *into Leather; with other Enormities of the like Weight and Kind.* To which I will venture to add more: *That the* Mayorality *of this City is always executed by an* Inhabitant, *and often by a* Native, *which might as well be done by a* Deputy, *with a moderate Salary, whereby* POOR England *loseth, at least, one thousand Pounds a Year*

upon the Ballance. That the Governing of this Kingdom costs the Lord Lieutenant three Thousand six Hundred Pounds a Year, so much net *Loss to POOR* England. *That the People of* Ireland *presume to dig for Coals* in their own Grounds; *and the Farmers in the County of* Wicklow *send their Turf to the very Market of* Dublin, *to the great Discouragement of the Coal Trade at* Mostyn *and* White-haven. *That the Revenues of the* Post-Office *here, so righteously belonging to the* English *Treasury, as arising chiefly from our own Commerce with each other, should be remitted to* London, *clogged with that grievous Burthen of Exchange, and the Pensions paid out of the* Irish *Revenues to* English Favourites, *should lie under the same Disadvantage, to the great Loss of the Grantees. When a* Divine *is sent over to a* Bishoprick *here, with the Hopes of Five and Twenty Hundred Pounds a Year; upon his Arrival, he finds, alas! a dreadful Discount of Ten or Twelve* per Cent. *A* Judge, *or a* Commissioner *of the Revenue, has the same Cause of Complaint.* Lastly, *The Ballad upon* Cotter *is vehemently suspected to be* Irish *Manufacture; and yet is allowed to be sung in our open Streets, under the very* Nose *of the* Government.

THESE are a *few* among the many Hardships we put upon that *POOR* Kingdom of *England*; for which, I am confident, every *honest* Man wisheth a *Remedy*: And, I hear, there is a Project *on Foot* for transporting our best Wheaten *Straw*, by Sea and Land Carriage, to *Dunstable*; and *obliging us by a Law*, to take off yearly so many *Tun of Straw-Hats*, for the Use of our Women; which will be a *great Encouragement* to the Manufacture of that industrious Town.

I WOULD be glad to learn among the Divines, whether a Law *to bind Men without their own Consent*, be obligatory *in foro Conscientiæ*; because, I find *Scripture*, *Sanderson* and *Suarez*, are wholly silent in the Matter. The Oracle of *Reason*, the great *Law of Nature*, and general Opinion of *Civilians*, wherever they treat of *limitted Governments*, are, indeed, decisive enough.

IT is wonderful to observe the Biass among our People in favour of *Things*, *Persons*, and *Wares* of all Kinds that come from *England*. The *Printer* tells his *Hawkers*, that *he has got an excellent new Song just brought from* London. I have somewhat of a Tendency that way my self; and upon hearing a *Coxcomb* from thence

displaying himself, with great Volubility, upon the *Park*, the *Play-House*, the *Opera*, the *Gaming Ordinaries*, it was apt to beget in me a Kind of Veneration for his Parts and Accomplishments. It is not many Years, since I remember a *Person* who, by his Style and Literature, seems to have been *Corrector* of a Hedge-Press, in some *Blind-Alley* about *Little-Britain*, proceed *gradually* to be an *Author*, at least a * *Translator* of a lower Rate, although somewhat of a larger Bulk, than any that now *flourishes* in *Grub-street*; and, upon the Strength of this Foundation, came over *here; erect* himself up into an *Orator* and *Politician*, and lead a *Kingdom* after him. This, I am told, was the *very Motive* that prevailed on the † *Author* of a Play called, *Love in a Hollow-Tree*, to do us the *Honour* of a Visit; presuming, with very good Reason, *that he was a Writer of a superior Class*. I know *another*, who, for thirty Years past, hath been the *common Standard of Stupidity in England*, where he was never heard a Minute in any *Assembly*, or by any *Party*, with *common Christian Treatment*; yet, upon his Arrival hither, could put on a *Face of Importance and Authority*, talked more than Six, without either *Gracefulness*, *Propriety*, or *Meaning*; and, at the same Time, be admired and followed as the Pattern of *Eloquence* and *Wisdom*.

NOTHING hath humbled me so much, or shewn a greater Disposition to a *contemptuous* Treatment of *Ireland* in some chief *Governors*; than that high Style of several Speeches from the *Throne*, delivered, as usual, after the *Royal Assent*, in *some Periods* of the two last *Reigns*. Such Exaggerations of the prodigious *Condescensions* in the Prince, to pass *those good Laws*, would have but an odd Sound at *Westminster*: Neither do I apprehend, how any *good Law* can pass, wherein the *King*'s Interest is not as much concerned as that of the *People*. I remember, after a Speech on the like Occasion, delivered by my Lord *Wharton*, (I think it was his last) he desired Mr. *Addison* to *ask my Opinion of it*: My Answer was, *That his Excellency had very honestly forfeited his Head, on Account of*

* Supposed to be *Cæsar*'s Commentaries, dedicated to the D[uke] of *Marlborough*.

† L. *G[ri]mst[o]n*.

one Paragraph; wherein he asserted, by plain Consequence, a dispensing Power *in the Queen.* His Lordship owned *it was true*, but *swore* the Words were *put into his Mouth* by direct Orders from Court. From whence it is clear, that some *Ministers* in those Times, were apt, from their *high* Elevation, to look *down* upon this Kingdom, as if it had been one of their *Colonies* of *Out-casts* in *America.* And I observed a little of the same Turn of Spirit in *some great Men*, from whom I expected better; although, to do them Justice, it proved no Point of Difficulty to make them *correct their Idea*, whereof the *whole Nation* quickly found the Benefit.—But that is *forgotten.* How the Style hath since run, I am wholly a Stranger; having never seen a Speech since the last of the Queen.

I WOULD now expostulate a little with our Country Landlords; who, by unmeasurable *screwing* and *racking* their Tenants all over the Kingdom, have already reduced the miserable *People* to a *worse Condition* than the *Peasants* in *France*, or the *Vassals* in *Germany* and *Poland*; so that the whole *Species* of what we call *Substantial Farmers*, will, in a very few Years, be utterly at an End. It was pleasant to observe these Gentlemen, *labouring* with all their *Might*, for preventing the *Bishops* from letting their Revenues at a moderate half Value, (whereby the whole *Order* would, in an Age, have been reduced to manifest Beggary) at the very Instant, when they were every where *canting* their own Lands upon short Leases, and sacrificing their *oldest Tenants for a Penny an Acre advance.* I know not how it comes to pass, (and yet, perhaps, I know well enough) that *Slaves* have a natural Disposition to be *Tyrants*; and that when my *Betters* give me a Kick, I am apt to revenge it with six upon my *Footman*; although, perhaps, he may be an honest and diligent Fellow. I have heard *great* Divines affirm, that *nothing is so likely to call down an universal Judgment from Heaven upon a Nation, as universal Oppression*; and whether this be not already verified in Part, *their Worships* the Landlords are *now* at full Leisure to consider. Whoever travels this Country, and observes the *Face* of Nature, or the *Faces*, and Habits, and Dwellings of the *Natives*, will hardly think himself in a Land where either *Law*, *Religion*, or *common Humanity* is professed.

I CANNOT forbear saying one Word upon a *Thing* they call a

Bank, which, I hear, is projecting in this Town. I never saw the *Proposals*, nor understand any one Particular of their Scheme: What I wish for, at present, is only a sufficient Provision of *Hemp*, and *Caps*, and *Bells*, to distribute according to the several Degrees of *Honesty* and *Prudence* in *some Persons*. I *hear* only of a monstrous Sum already named; and, if OTHERS do not soon hear of it too, and *hear* it with a *Vengeance*, then am I a Gentleman of less Sagacity than my self, and very few besides, take me to be. And the Jest will be still the better, if it be true, as judicious Persons have assured me, that one Half of this Money will be *real*, and the other Half altogether imaginary. The Matter will be likewise much mended, if the Merchants continue to carry off our Gold, and our Goldsmiths to melt down our heavy Silver.

A Letter *from* *Dr* Swift *to* *Mr* Pope

1721

A LETTER

From Dr. SWIFT *to Mr.* POPE.

Dublin, Jan. 10, 1721.

A Thousand Things have vexed me of late years, upon which I am determined to lay open my mind to you. I rather chuse to appeal to you than to my Lord Chief Justice* Whitshed, under the situation I am in. For, I take this cause properly to lie before you: You are a much fitter Judge of what concerns the credit of a Writer, the injuries that are done him, and the reparations he ought to receive. Besides, I doubt, whether the Arguments I could suggest to prove my own innocence would be of much weight from the gentlemen of the Long-robe to those in Furs, upon whose decision about the difference of Style or Sentiments, I should be very unwilling to leave the merits of my Cause.

Give me leave then to put you in mind, (although you cannot easily forget it) that about ten weeks before the Queen's death, I left the town, upon occasion of that incurable breach among the great men at Court, and went down to Berkshire, where you may remember that you gave me the favour of a visit. While I was in that retirement, I writ a Discourse which I thought might be useful in such a juncture of affairs, and sent it up to London; but upon some difference in opinion between me and a certain great Minister now abroad, the publishing of it was deferred so long that the Queen died, and I recalled my copy, which hath been ever since in safe hands. In a few weeks after the loss of that excellent Princess, I came to my station here; where I have continued ever since in the greatest privacy, and utter ignorance of those events which are most commonly

* *A Judge in* Ireland.

talked of in the world; I neither know the names nor number of the Family which now reigns, further than the Prayer-book informs me. I cannot tell who is Chancellor, who are Secretaries, nor with what Nations we are in peace or war. And this manner of life was not taken up out of any sort of Affectation, but meerly to avoid giving offence, and for fear of provoking Party-zeal.

I had indeed written some Memorials of the four last years of the Queen's reign, with some other informations, which I received, as necessary materials to qualify me for doing something in an employment then designed me:* But, as it was at the disposal of a †person, who had not the smallest share of steddiness or sincerity, I disdained to accept it.

These papers, at my few hours of health and leisure, I have been digesting into order by one sheet at a time, for I dare not venture any further, lest the humour of searching and seizing papers should revive; not that I am in pain of any danger to myself, (for they contain nothing of present times or persons, upon which I shall never lose a thought while there is a Cat or a Spaniel in the house) but to preserve them from being lost among Messengers and Clerks.

I have written in this kingdom, a ‡discourse to persuade the wretched people to wear their own Manufactures instead of those from England: This Treatise soon spread very fast, being agreeable to the sentiments of the whole nation, except of those gentlemen who had employments, or were Expectants. Upon which a person in great office here immediately took the alarm; he sent in haste for the Chief Justice, and informed him of a seditious, factious, and virulent Pamphlet, lately published with a design of setting the two kingdoms at variance, directing at the same time that the Printer should be prosecuted with the utmost rigour of law.§ The Chief Justice had so quick an understanding, that he resolved, if possible, to out-do his orders. The

* *Historiographer.* † D. *of K*[*en*]*t.*
‡ *A Proposal for the Universal Use of* Irish *Manufacture.*
§ *Lord Chief Justice* Whitshed.

Grand-Juries of the county and city were practised effectually with to present the said Pamphlet with all aggravating Epithets, for which they had thanks sent them from England, and their Presentments published for several weeks in all the news-papers. The Printer was seized, and forced to give great bail: After his trial the Jury brought him in Not Guilty, although they had been culled with the utmost industry; the Chief Justice sent them back nine times, and kept them eleven hours, until being perfectly tired out, they were forced to leave the matter to the mercy of the Judge, by what they call a special Verdict. During the trial, the Chief Justice, among other singularities, laid his hand on his breast, and protested solemnly that the Author's design was to bring in the Pretender; although there was not a single syllable of Party in the whole Treatise, and although it was known that the most eminent of those who professed his own principles, publickly disallowed his proceedings. But the cause being so very odious and impopular, the trial of the Verdict was deferred from one Term to another, until upon the Duke of Grafton the Lord Lieutenant's arrival, his Grace after mature advice, and permission from England, was pleased to grant a **noli prosequi*.

This is the more remarkable, because it is said that the man is no ill decider in common cases of property, where Party is out of the question; but when that intervenes, with ambition at heels to push it forward, it must needs confound any man of little spirit, and low birth, who hath no other endowment than that sort of Knowledge, which, however possessed in the highest degree, can possibly give no one good quality to the mind.

It is true, I have been much concerned for several years past, upon account of the publick as well as of myself, to see how ill a taste for wit and sense prevails in the world, which politicks and South-Sea, and Party, and Opera's and Masquerades have introduced. For, besides many insipid papers which the malice of some hath entitled me to, there are many persons appearing to wish me well, and pretending to be judges of my

* *Law Phrase signifying a* Stop to *further Proceedings.*

style and manner, who have yet ascribed some writings to me, of which any man of common sense and literature would be heartily ashamed. I cannot forbear instancing a Treatise called a Dedication upon Dedications, which many would have to be mine, although it be as empty, dry, and servile a composition, as I remember at any time to have read. But above all, there is one Circumstance which maketh it impossible for me to have been Author of a Treatise, wherein there are several pages containing a Panegyrick on King George, of whose character and person I am utterly ignorant, nor ever had once the curiosity to enquire into either, living at so great a distance as I do, and having long done with whatever can relate to publick matters.

Indeed I have formerly delivered my thoughts very freely, whether I were asked or no, but never affected to be a Councellor, to which I had no manner of call. I was humbled enough to see my self so far out-done by the Earl of Oxford in my own trade as a Scholar, and too good a Courtier not to discover his contempt of those who would be men of importance out of their sphere. Besides, to say the truth, although I have known many great Ministers ready enough to hear Opinions, yet I have hardly seen one that would ever descend to take Advice; and this pedantry ariseth from a maxim themselves do not believe at the same time they practise by it, that there is something profound in politicks, which men of plain honest sense cannot arrive to.

I only wish my endeavours had succeeded better in the great point I had at heart, which was that of reconciling the Ministers to each other. This might have been done, if others who had more concern and more influence would have acted their parts; and, if this had succeeded, the publick interest both of Church and State would not have been the worse, nor the Protestant Succession endangered.

But, whatever opportunities a constant attendance of four years might have given me for endeavouring to do good offices to particular persons, I deserve at least to find tolerable quarter from those of the other Party; for many of which I was a constant advocate with the Earl of Oxford, and for this I appeal to his Lordship: He knows how often I pressed him in favour of

Mr. Addison, Mr. Congreve, Mr. Row, and Mr. Steel, although I freely confess that his Lordship's kindness to them was altogether owing to his generous notions, and the esteem he had for their wit and parts, of which I could only pretend to be a remembrancer. For, I can never forget the answer he gave to the late Lord Hallifax, who upon the first change of the Ministry interceded with him to spare Mr. Congreve: It was by repeating these two lines of Virgil,

> **Non obtusa adeo gestamus pectora Pæni,*
> *Nec tam aversus equos Tyria Sol jungit ab urbe.*

Pursuant to which, he always treated Mr. Congreve with the greatest personal civilities, assured him of his constant favour and protection, adding that he would study to do something better for him.

I remember it was in those times a usual subject of raillery towards me among the Ministers, that I never came to them without a Whig in my sleeve; which I do not say with any view towards making my Court: For, the new Principles fixed to those of that denomination, I did then, and do now from my heart abhor, detest and abjure, as wholly degenerate from their predecessors. I have conversed in some freedom with more Ministers of State of all Parties than usually happens to men of my level, and I confess, in their capacity as Ministers, I look upon them as a race of people whose acquaintance no man would court, otherwise than upon the score of Vanity or Ambition. The first quickly wears off (and is the Vice of low minds, for a man of spirit is too proud to be vain) and the other was not my case. Besides, having never received more than one small favour, I was under no necessity of being a slave to men in power, but chose my friends by their personal merit, without examining how far their notions agreed with the politicks then in vogue. I frequently conversed with Mr. Addison, and the others I named

* *Our Hearts are not so cold, nor flames the Fire*
Of Sol *so different from the Race of* Tyre.

DUNKIN.

(except Mr. Steel) during all my Lord Oxford's Ministry, and Mr. Addison's friendship to me continued inviolable, with as much kindness as when we used to meet at my Lord Sommers or Hallifax, who were leaders of the opposite Party.

I would infer from all this, that it is with great injustice I have these many years been pelted by your Pamphleteers, merely upon account of some regard which the Queen's last Ministers were pleased to have for me: and yet in my conscience I think I am a partaker in every ill design they had against the Protestant Succession, or the Liberties and Religion of their Country; and can say with Cicero, that I should be proud to be included with them in all their actions **tanquam in equo Trojano.* But, if I have never discovered by my words, writings, or actions, any Party virulence, or dangerous designs against the present powers; if my friendship and conversation were equally shewn among those who liked or disapproved the proceedings then at Court, and that I was known to be a common Friend of all deserving persons of the latter sort, when they were in distress; I cannot but think it hard that I am not suffered to run quietly among the common herd of people, whose opinions unfortunately differ from those which lead to Favour and Preferment.

I ought to let you know, that the Thing we called a Whig in England is a creature altogether different from those of the same denomination here; at least it was so during the reign of Her late Majesty. Whether those on your side have changed or no, it hath not been my business to enquire. I remember my excellent friend Mr. Addison, when he first came over hither Secretary to the Earl of Wharton then Lord Lieutenant, was extremely offended at the conduct and discourse of the Chief Managers here: He told me they were a sort of people who seemed to think, that the principles of a Whig consisted in nothing else but damning the Church, reviling the Clergy, abetting the Dissenters, and speaking contemptibly of revealed Religion.

I was discoursing some years ago with a certain Minister about that whiggish or fanatical Genius so prevalent among the Eng-

* *As if in the* Trojan *Horse.*

lish of this kingdom: his Lordship accounted for it by that number of Cromwell's Soldiers, adventurers established here, who were all of the sourest Leven, and the meanest birth, and whose posterity are now in possession of their lands and their principles. However, it must be confessed, that of late some people in this country are grown weary of quarelling, because interest, the great motive of quarelling is at an end; for, it is hardly worth contending who shall be an Excise-man, a Country-Vicar, a Cryer in the Courts, or an Under-Clerk.

You will perhaps be inclined to think, that a person so ill treated as I have been, must at some time or other have discovered very dangerous opinions in government; in answer to which, I will tell you what my Political principles were in the time of her late glorious Majesty, which I never contradicted by any action, writing or discourse.

First, I always declared my self against a Popish Successor to the Crown, whatever Title he might have by the proximity of blood: Neither did I ever regard the right line, except upon two accounts; first, as it was established by law; and secondly, as it hath much weight in the opinions of the people. For necessity may abolish any Law, but cannot alter the sentiments of the vulgar; Right of inheritance being perhaps the most popular of all topicks; and therefore in great Changes when that is broke, there will remain much heart-burning and discontent among the meaner people; which (under a weak Prince and corrupt Administration) may have the worst consequences upon the peace of any state.

As to what is called a Revolution-principle, my opinion was this; That, whenever those evils which usually attend and follow a violent change of government, were not in probability so pernicious as the grievances we suffer under a present power, then the publick good will justify such a Revolution; and this I took to have been the Case in the Prince of Orange's expedition, although in the consequences it produced some very bad effects, which are likely to stick long enough by us.

I had likewise in those days a mortal antipathy against Standing Armies in times of Peace. Because I always took Standing

Armies to be only servants hired by the master of the family, for keeping his own children in slavery: And because, I conceived, that a Prince who could not think himself secure without Mercenary Troops, must needs have a separate interest from that of his subjects. Although I am not ignorant of those artificial Necessities which a corrupted Ministry can create, for keeping up forces to support a Faction against the publick Interest.

As to Parliaments, I adored the wisdom of that Gothic Institution, which made them Annual: and I was confident our Liberty could never be placed upon a firm foundation until that ancient law were restored among us. For, who sees not, that while such assemblies are permitted to have a longer duration, there grows up a commerce of corruption between the Ministry and the Deputies, wherein they both find their accounts to the manifest danger of Liberty, which traffick would neither answer the design nor expence, if Parliaments met once a year.

I ever abominated that scheme of politicks, (now about thirty years old) of setting up a monied Interest in opposition to the landed. For, I conceived, there could not be a truer maxim in our government than this, That the possessors of the soil are the best judges of what is for the advantage of the kingdom: If others had thought the same way, Funds of Credit and South-sea Projects would neither have been felt nor heard of.

I could never discover the necessity of suspending any Law upon which the Liberty of the most innocent persons depended: neither do I think this practice hath made the taste of arbitrary power so agreeable as that we should desire to see it repeated. Every Rebellion subdued and Plot discovered, contributes to the firmer establishment of the Prince. In the latter case, the knot of Conspirators is entirely broke, and they are to begin their work anew under a thousand disadvantages; so that those diligent enquiries into remote and problematical guilt, with a new power of enforcing them by chains and dungeons to every person whose face a Minister thinks fit to dislike, are not only opposite to that maxim, which declareth it better that ten guilty men should escape, than one innocent suffer, but likewise leave a gate wide open to the whole Tribe of Informers, the most

accursed, and prostitute, and abandoned race, that God ever permitted to plague mankind.

It is true the Romans had a custom of chusing a Dictator, during whose administration, the Power of other Magistrates was suspended; but this was done upon the greatest emergencies; a War near their doors, or some civil Dissention: For Armies must be governed by arbitrary power: But when the Virtue of that Commonwealth gave place to luxury and ambition, this very office of Dictator became perpetual in the persons of the Cæsars and their Successors, the most infamous tyrants that have any where appeared in story.

These are some of the sentiments I had relating to publick affairs while I was in the world; what they are at present, is of little importance either to that or my self; neither can I truly say I have any at all, or if I had, I dare not venture to publish them: For however orthodox they may be while I am now writing, they may become criminal enough to bring me into trouble before midsummer. And indeed I have often wished for some time past, that a political Catechism might be published by authority four times a year, in order to instruct us how we are to speak and write, and act during the current quarter. I have by experience felt the want of such an instructor: For intending to make my court to some people on the prevailing side, by advancing certain old whiggish principles, which it seems had been exploded about a month before, I have passed for a disaffected person. I am not ignorant how idle a thing it is for a man in obscurity to attempt defending his reputation as a Writer, while the spirit of Faction hath so universally possessed the minds of men, that they are not at leisure to attend to any thing else. They will just give themselves time to libel and accuse me, but cannot spare a minute to hear my defence. So in a plot-discovering age, I have often known an innocent man seized and imprisoned, and forced to lie several months in chains, while the Ministers were not at leisure to hear his petition, until they had prosecuted and hanged the number they proposed.

All I can reasonably hope for by this letter, is to convince my

friends and others who are pleased to wish me well, that I have neither been so ill a Subject nor so stupid an Author, as I have been represented by the virulence of Libellers, whose malice hath taken the same train in both, by fathering dangerous principles in government upon me, which I never maintained, and insipid productions which I am not capable of writing. For, however I may have been sowered by personal ill treatment, or by melancholy prospects for the publick, I am too much a politician to expose my own safety by offensive words: and, if my genius and spirit be sunk by encreasing years, I have at least enough discretion left, not to mistake the measure of my own abilities, by attempting subjects where those talents are necessary, which perhaps I may have lost with my youth.

The Last Speech *and* Dying Words *of* Ebenezor Elliston

1722

THE LAST SPEECH AND *DYING WORDS* OF Ebenezor Elliston, *who was Executed the Second Day of* May, 1722

Published at his Desire, for the Common Good.

I AM now going to suffer the just Punishment for my Crimes prescribed by the Law of God and my Country. I know it is the constant Custom, that those who come to this Place should have Speeches made for them, and cryed about in their own Hearing, as they are carried to Execution; and truly they are such Speeches that although our Fraternity be an ignorant illiterate People, they would make a Man ashamed to have such Nonsense and false *English* charged upon him even when he is going to the Gallows: They contain a pretended Account of our Birth and Family; of the Fact for which we are to die; of our

N. B. *About the Time that this Speech was written, the Town was much pestered with* Street-Robbers; *who, in a barbarous Manner would seize on Gentlemen, and take them into remote Corners, and after they had robbed them, would leave them bound and gagged. It is remarkable, that this Speech had so good an Effect, that there have been very few Robberies of that kind committed since.*

sincere Repentance; and a Declaration of our Religion. I cannot expect to avoid the same Treatment with my Predecessors. However, having had an Education one or two Degrees better than those of my Rank and Profession; I have been considering ever since my Commitment, what it might be proper for me to deliver upon this Occasion.

And First, I cannot say from the Bottom of my Heart, that I am truly sorry for the Offence I have given to God and the World; but I am very much so, for the bad Success of my Villanies in bringing me to this untimely End. For it is plainly evident, that after having some time ago obtained a Pardon from the Crown, I again took up my old Trade; my evil Habits were so rooted in me, and I was grown so unfit for any other kind of Employment. And therefore although in Compliance with my Friends, I resolve to go to the Gallows after the usual Manner, Kneeling, with a Book in my Hand, and my Eyes lift up; yet I shall feel no more Devotion in my Heart than I have observed in some of my Comrades, who have been drunk among common Whores the very Night before their Execution. I can say further from my own Knowledge, that two of my Fraternity after they had been hanged, and wonderfully came to Life, and made their Escapes, as it sometimes happens; proved afterwards the wickedest Rogues I ever knew, and so continued until they were hanged again for good and all; and yet they had the Impudence at both Times they went to the Gallows, to smite their Breasts, and lift up their Eyes to Heaven all the Way.

Secondly, From the Knowledge I have of my own wicked Dispositions and that of my Comrades, I give it as my Opinion, that nothing can be more unfortunate to the Publick, than the Mercy of the Government in ever pardoning or transporting us; unless when we betray one another, as we never fail to do, if we are sure to be well paid; and then a Pardon may do good; by the same Rule, *That it is better to have but one Fox in a Farm than three or four.* But we generally make a Shift to return after being transported, and are ten times greater Rogues than before, and much more cunning. Besides, I know it by Experience, that some Hopes we have of finding Mercy, when we are

tryed, or after we are condemned, is always a great Encouragement to us.

THIRDLY, Nothing is more dangerous to idle young Fellows than the Company of those odious common Whores we frequent, and of which this Town is full: These Wretches put us upon all Mischief to feed their Lusts and Extravagancies: They are ten times more bloody and cruel than Men; their Advice is always not to spare if we are pursued; they get drunk with us, and are common to us all; and yet, if they can get any Thing by it, are sure to be our Betrayers.

Now, as I am a dying Man, something I have done which may be of good Use to the Publick. I have left with an honest Man (and indeed the only honest Man I was ever acquainted with) the Names of all my wicked Brethren, the present Places of their Abode, with a short Account of the chief Crimes they have committed; in many of which I have been their Accomplice, and heard the rest from their own Mouths: I have likewise set down the Names of those we call our Setters, of the wicked Houses we frequent, and of those who receive and buy our stolen Goods. I have solemnly charged this honest Man, and have received his Promise upon Oath, that whenever he hears of any Rogue to be tryed for robbing, or House-breaking, he will look into his List, and if he finds the Name there of the Thief concerned, to send the whole Paper to the Government. Of this I here give my Companions fair and publick Warning, and hope they will take it.

IN the Paper abovementioned, which I left with my Friend, I have also set down the Names of several Gentlemen who have been robbed in *Dublin* Streets for three Years past: I have told the Circumstances of those Robberies; and shewn plainly that nothing but the Want of common Courage was the Cause of their Misfortunes. I have therefore desired my Friend, that whenever any Gentleman happens to be robbed in the Streets, he will get that Relation printed and published with the first Letters of those Gentlemens Names, who by their own Want of Bravery are likely to be the Cause of all the Mischief of that Kind, which may happen for the future.

I CANNOT leave the World without a short Description of that Kind of Life, which I have led for some Years past; and is exactly the same with the rest of our wicked Brethren.

ALTHOUGH we are generally so corrupted from our Childhood, as to have no Sense of Goodness; yet something heavy always hangs about us, I know not what it is, that we are never easy till we are half drunk among our Whores and Companions; nor sleep sound, unless we drink longer than we can stand. If we go abroad in the Day, a wise Man would easily find us to be Rogues by our Faces; we have such a suspicious, fearful, and constrained Countenance; often turning back, and slinking through narrow Lanes and Allies. I have never failed of knowing a Brother Thief by his Looks, though I never saw him before. Every Man among us keeps his particular Whore, who is however common to us all, when we have a mind to change. When we have got a Booty, if it be in Money, we divide it equally among our Companions, and soon squander it away on our Vices in those Houses that receive us; for the Master and Mistress, and the very Tapster, go Snacks; and besides make us pay treble Reckonings. If our Plunder be Plate, Watches, Rings, Snuff-Boxes, and the like; we have Customers in all Quarters of the Town to take them off. I have seen a Tankard worth Fifteen Pounds sold to a Fellow in ———— Street for Twenty Shillings; and a Gold Watch for Thirty. I have set down his Name, and that of several others in the Paper already mentioned. We have Setters watching in Corners, and by dead Walls, to give us Notice when a Gentleman goes by; especially if he be any thing in Drink. I believe in my Conscience, that if an Account were made of a Thousand Pounds in stolen Goods; considering the low Rates we sell them at, the Bribes we must give for Concealment, the Extortions of Ale-house Reckonings, and other necessary Charges, there would not remain Fifty Pounds clear to be divided among the Robbers. And out of this we must find Cloaths for our Whores, besides treating them from Morning to Night; who, in Requital, reward us with nothing but Treachery and the Pox. For when our Money is gone, they are every Moment threatning to inform against us, if we will not go out

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to look for more. If any Thing in this World be like Hell, as I have heard it described by our Clergy; the truest Picture of it must be in the Back-Room of one of our Ale-houses at Midnight; where a Crew of Robbers and their Whores are met together after a Booty, and are beginning to grow drunk; from which Time, until they are past their Senses, is such a continued horrible Noise of Cursing, Blasphemy, Lewdness, Scurrility, and brutish Behaviour; such Roaring and Confusion, such a Clatter of Mugs and Pots at each other's Heads; that *Bedlam*, in Comparison, is a sober and orderly Place: At last they all tumble from their Stools and Benches, and sleep away the rest of the Night; and generally the Landlord or his Wife, or some other Whore who has a stronger Head than the rest, picks their Pockets before they wake. The Misfortune is, that we can never be easy till we are drunk; and our Drunkenness constantly exposes us to be more easily betrayed and taken.

THIS is a short Picture of the Life I have led; which is more miserable than that of the poorest Labourer who works for four Pence a Day; and yet Custom is so strong, that I am confident, if I could make my Escape at the Foot of the Gallows, I should be following the same Course this very Evening. So that upon the whole, we ought to be looked upon as the common Enemies of Mankind; whose Interest it is to root us out like Wolves, and other mischievous Vermin, against which no fair Play is required.

IF I have done Service to Men in what I have said, I shall hope I have done Service to GOD; and that will be better than a silly Speech made for me full of Whining and Canting, which I utterly despise, and have never been used to; yet such a one I expect to have my Ears tormented with, as I am passing along the Streets.

GOOD People fare ye well; bad as I am, I leave many worse behind me. I hope you shall see me die like a Man, the Death of a Dog.

E. E.

Alverno College Library
Milwaukee, Wisconsin

SOME

ARGUMENTS

Againſt enlarging the

Power of Biſhops,

In letting of

LEASES.

WITH

Remarks on ſome *Queries*

Lately publiſhed.

Mibi credite, major hæreditas venit unicuique veſtrûm in ijsdem bonis à jure & à legibus, quam ab ijs à quibus illa ipſa bona relicta ſunt.

Cicero *pro* A. Cæcina.

DUBLIN.

Printed for *J. Hyde*, 1723.

SOME

ARGUMENTS

Against ENLARGING the

Power of BISHOPS, &c.

IN handling this Subject, I shall proceed wholly upon the Supposition, that those of *our Party*, who profess themselves Members of the Church established, and under the Apostolical Government of Bishops, do desire the Continuance and Transmission of it to Posterity, at least, in as good a Condition as it is at present. Because, as this Discourse is not calculated for Dissenters of any Kind; so neither will it suit the Talk or Sentiments of those Persons, who, with the Denomination of Churchmen, are Oppressors of the inferiour Clergy, and perpetually quarreling at the great Incomes of the Bishops; which is a traditional Cant delivered down from former Times, and continued with great Reason, although it be now near 200 Years since almost three Parts in four of the Church Revenues have been taken from the Clergy: Besides the Spoils that have been gradually made ever since, of Glebes and other Lands, by the Confusion of Times, the Fraud of encroaching Neighbours, or the Power of Oppressors, too great to be encountred.

ABOUT the Time of the Reformation, many *Popish* Bishops of this Kingdom, knowing they must have been soon ejected, if they would not change their Religion, made long Leases and Fee-farms of great Part of their Lands, reserving very inconsiderable Rents, sometimes only a Chiefry; by a Power they assumed, directly contrary to many antient Canons, yet consistent enough with the Common Law. This Trade held on for many Years after the Bishops became Protestants; and some of their Names are still remembered with Infamy, on Account of enrich-

ing their Families by such sacrilegious Alienations. By these Means, Episcopal Revenues were so low reduced, that three or four Sees were often united to make a tolerable Competency. For some Remedy to this Evil, King *James* the First, by a Bounty that became a good Christian Prince, bestowed several forfeited Lands on the *Northern* Bishopricks: But in all other Parts of the Kingdom, the Church continued still in the same Distress and Poverty; some of the Sees hardly possessing enough to maintain a Country Vicar. About the Middle of King *Charles* the First's Reign, the Legislature here thought fit to put a Stop, at least, to any farther Alienations; and so a Law was enacted, prohibiting all Bishops, and other Ecclesiastical Corporations, from setting their Lands for above the Term of Twenty-one Years; the Rent reserved to be one Half of the real Value of such Lands at the Time they were set, without which Condition the Lease to be void.

Soon after the Restoration of King *Charles* the Second, the Parliament taking into Consideration the miserable Estate of the Church; certain Lands, by way of Augmentation, were granted to eight Bishops in the Act of Settlement, and confirmed in the Act of Explanation; of which Bounty, as I remember, three Sees were, in a great Measure, defeated; but by what Accidents, it is not here of any Importance to relate.

This, at present, is the Condition of the Church in *Ireland*, with Regard to Episcopal Revenues: Which I have thus briefly (and, perhaps, imperfectly) deduced for some Information to those, whose Thoughts do not lead them to such Considerations.

By Virtue of the Statute, already mentioned, under King *Charles* the First, limiting Ecclesiastical Bodies to the Term of Twenty-one Years, under the reserved Rent of half real Value; the Bishops have had some Share in the gradual Rise of Lands, without which they could not have been supported, with any common Decency that might become their Station. It is above eighty Years since the passing of that Act: The See of *Meath*, one of the best in the Kingdom, was then worth about 400 *l. per Annum*; the poorer ones in the same Proportion. If this were their present Condition, I cannot conceive how they would have been able to

pay for their Patents, or buy their Robes: But this will certainly be the Condition of their Successors, if such a Bill should pass, as they say is now intended, which I will suppose, and believe, many Persons, who may give a Vote for it, are not aware of.

However, this is the Act which is now attempted to be repealed, or, at least, eluded; some are for giving Bishops leave to let Fee-farms; others would allow them to let Leases for Lives; and the most moderate would repeal that Clause, by which the Bishops are bound to let their Lands at half Value.

The Reasons for the Rise of Value in Lands, are of two Kinds. Of the first Kind, are long Peace and Settlement after the Devastations of War; Plantations, Improvements of bad Soil, Recovery of Bogs and Marshes, Advancement of Trade and Manufactures, Encrease of Inhabitants, Encouragement of Agriculture, and the like.

But there is another Reason for the Rise of Land, more gradual, constant and certain; which will have its Effects in Countries that are very far from flourishing in any of the Advantages I have just mentioned: I mean *the perpetual Decrease in the Value of Gold and Silver*. I shall discourse upon these two different Kinds, with a View towards the Bill now attempted.

As to the First: I cannot see how this Kingdom is at any Height of Improvement, while four Parts in five of the Plantations for 30 Years past, have been real Disimprovements; Nine in Ten of the Quickset-Hedges being ruined for want of Care or Skill. And as to Forest Trees, they being often taken out of Woods, and planted in single Rows on the Tops of Ditches, it is impossible they should grow to be of Use, Beauty, or Shelter. Neither can it be said, that the Soil of *Ireland* is improved to its full Height, while so much lies all Winter under Water, and the Bogs made almost desperate by the ill Cutting of the Turf. There hath, indeed, been some little Improvement in the Manufactures of Linen and Woollen, although very short of Perfection: But our Trade was never in so low a Condition: And as to Agriculture, of which all wise Nations have been so tender, the Desolation made in the Country by engrossing Graziers, and the

great yearly Importation of Corn from *England*, are lamentable Instances under what Discouragement it lies.

But, notwithstanding all these Mortifications, I suppose there is no Well-wisher to his Country, without a little Hope, that in Time the Kingdom may be on a better Foot in some of the Articles abovementioned. But it would be hard, if Ecclesiastical Bodies should be the only Persons excluded from any Share in publick Advantages; which yet can never happen, without a greater Share of Profit to their Tenants: If God *sends Rain equally upon the Just and the Unjust*; why should those who wait at his Altars, and are Instructers of the People, be cut off from partaking in the general Benefits of Law, or of Nature?

But, as this Way of Reasoning may seem to bear a more favourable Eye to the Clergy, than perhaps will suit with the present Disposition, or Fashion of the Age; I shall, therefore, dwell more largely upon the second Reason for the Rise of Land, which is *the perpetual Decrease of the Value of Gold and Silver*.

This may be observed from the Course of the *Roman* History, above two Thousand Years before those inexhaustible Silver Mines of *Potosi* were known. The Value of an *Obolus*, and of every other Coin between the Time of *Romulus* and that of *Augustus*, gradually sunk above five Parts in six, as appears by several Passages out of the best Authors. And yet, the prodigious Wealth of that State did not arise from the Encrease of Bullion in the World, by the Discovery of new Mines, but from a much more accidental Cause, which was, the spreading of their Conquests, and thereby importing into *Rome* and *Italy*, the Riches of the *East* and *West*.

When the Seat of Empire was removed to *Constantinople*, the Tide of Money flowed that Way, without ever returning; and was scattered in *Asia*. But when that mighty Empire was overthrown by the *Northern* People, such a Stop was put to all Trade and Commerce, that vast Sums of Money were buried, to escape the Plundering of the Conquerors; and what remained was carried off by those Ravagers.

It were no difficult Matter to compute the Value of Money in *England*, during the *Saxon* Reigns; but the Monkish and other

Writers since the Conquest, have put that Matter in a clearer Light, by the several Accounts they have given us of the Value of Corn and Cattle, in Years of Dearth and Plenty. Every one knows, that King *John*'s whole Portion, before he came to the Crown, was but five Thousand Pounds, without a Foot of Land.

I HAVE likewise seen the Steward's Accounts, of an antient noble Family in *England*, written in *Latin*, between three and four Hundred Years ago, with the several Prices of Wine and Victuals, to confirm my Observations.

I HAVE been at the Trouble of computing (as others have done) the different Values of Money for about four Hundred Years past. *Henry* Duke of *Lancaster*, who lived about that Period, founded an Hospital in *Leicester*, for a certain Number of old Men; charging his Lands with a Groat a Week to each for their Maintenance, which is to this Day duly paid them. In those Times, a Penny was equal to ten Pence Half-penny, and somewhat more than Half a Farthing in ours; which makes about eight Ninths Difference.

THIS is plain also, from the old Custom upon many Estates in *England*, to let for Leases of Lives, (renewable at Pleasure) where the reserved Rent is usually about Twelve Pence a Pound, which then was near the Half real Value: And although the Fines be not fixed, yet the Landlord gets altogether not above three Shillings in the Pound of the Worth of his Land: And the Tenants are so wedded to this Custom, that if the Owner suffer three Lives to expire, none of them will take a Lease on other Conditions; or, if he brings in a Foreigner who will agree to pay a reasonable Rent, the other Tenants, by all Manner of Injuries, will make that Foreigner so uneasy, that he must be forced to quit the Farm; as the late Earl of *Bath* felt, by the Experience of above ten Thousand Pounds Loss.

THE gradual Decrease for about two Hundred Years after, was not considerable, and therefore I do not rely on the Account given by some Historians, that *Harry* the Seventh left behind him Eighteen Hundred Thousand Pounds; for although the *West-Indies* were discovered before his Death, and although he had the best Talents and Instruments for exacting of Money, ever

possessed by any Prince since the Time of *Vespasian*; (whom he resembled in many Particulars) yet I conceive, that in his Days the whole Coin of *England* could hardly amount to such a Sum. For in the Reign of *Philip* and *Mary*, Sir ——— *Cockain* of *Darbyshire*, the best House-Keeper of his Quality in the County, allowed his Lady fifty Pounds a Year for maintaining the Family, one Pound a Year Wages to each Servant, and two Pounds to the Steward; as I was told by a Person of Quality who had seen the Original Account of his Oeconomy. Now this Sum of fifty Pound, added to the Advantages of a large Domain, might be equal to about five Hundred Pounds a Year at present, or somewhat more than four *Fifths*.

THE great Plenty of Silver in *England* began in Queen *Elizabeth*'s Reign, when *Drake*, and others, took vast Quantities of Coin and Bullion from the *Spaniards*, either upon their own *American* Coasts, or in their Return to *Spain*. However, so much hath been imported annually from that Time to this, that the Value of Money in *England*, and most Parts of *Europe*, is sunk above one Half within the Space of an Hundred Years, notwithstanding the great Export of Silver for about Eighty Years past, to the *East-Indies*, from whence it never returns. But Gold being not liable to the same Accident, and by new Discoveries growing every Day more plentiful, seems in Danger of becoming a Drug.

THIS hath been the Progress of the Value of Money in former Ages, and must of Necessity continue so for the Future, without some new Invasion of *Goths* and *Vandals* to destroy Law, Property and Religion, alter the very Face of Nature; and turn the World upside down.

I MUST repeat, that what I am to say upon this Subject, is intended only for the Conviction of those among our *own Party*, who are true Lovers of the Church, and would be glad it should continue in a tolerable Degree of Prosperity to the End of the World.

THE Church is supposed to last for ever, both in its Discipline and Doctrine; which is a Privilege common to every petty Corporation, who must likewise observe the Laws of their

Foundation. If a Gentleman's Estate which now yields him a thousand Pounds a Year, had been set for ever at the highest Value, even in the flourishing Days of King *Charles* the Second, would it now amount to above four or five Hundred at most? What if this had happened two or three Hundred Years ago; would the reserved Rent at this Day be any more than a small Chiefry? Suppose the Revenues of a Bishop to have been under the same Circumstances; could he now be able to perform Works of Hospitality and Charity? Thus, if the Revenues of a Bishop be limited to a Thousand Pounds a Year; how will his Successor be in a Condition to support his Station with Decency, when the same Denomination of Money shall not answer an Half, a Quarter, or an Eighth Part of that Sum? Which must unavoidably be the Consequence of any Bill to elude the limiting Act, whereby the Church was preserved from utter Ruin.

THE same Reason holds good in all Corporations whatsoever, who cannot follow a more pernicious Practice than that of granting Perpetuities, for which many of them smart to this Day; although the Leaders among them are often so stupid as not to perceive it, or sometimes so knavish as to find their private Account in cheating the Community.

SEVERAL Colleges in *Oxford*, were aware of this growing Evil about an Hundred Years ago; and, instead of limiting their Rents to a certain Sum of Money, prevailed with their Tenants to pay the Price of so many Barrels of Corn, to be valued as the Market went, at two Seasons (as I remember) in the Year. For a Barrel of Corn is of a real intrinsick Value, which Gold and Silver are not: And by this Invention, these Colleges have preserved a tolerable Subsistance, for their Fellows and Students, to this Day.

THE present Bishops will, indeed, be no Sufferers by such a Bill; because, their Ages considered, they cannot expect to see any great Decrease in the Value of Money; or, at worst, they can make it up in the Fines, which will probably be greater than usual, upon the Change of Leases into Fee-farms, or Lives; or without the Power of obliging their Tenants to a real half Value. And, as I cannot well blame them for taking such Advantages,

(considering the Nature of Human Kind) when the Question is only, whether the Money shall be put into their own or another Man's Pocket: So they will be never excuseable before God or Man, if they do not to the Death oppose, declare, and protest against any such Bill, as must in its Consequences compleat the Ruin of the Church, and of their own Order in this Kingdom.

If the Fortune of a private Person be diminished by the Weakness, or Inadvertency of his Ancestors, in letting Leases for ever at low Rents, the World lies open to his Industry for purchasing of more; but the Church is barred by a *dead Hand*; or if it were otherwise, yet the Custom of making Bequests to it, hath been out of Practice for almost two Hundred Years, and *a great deal directly contrary* hath been its Fortune.

I have been assured by a Person of some Consequence, to whom I am likewise obliged for the Account of some other Facts already related, that the late * Bishop of *Salisbury*, (the greatest *Whig* of that Bench in his Days) confessed to him, that the Liberty which Bishops in *England* have of letting Leases for Lives, would, in his Opinion, be one Day the Ruin of Episcopacy there; and thought the Church in this Kingdom happy by the Limitation Act.

And have we not already found the Effect of this different Proceeding in both Kingdoms? Have not two *English* Prelates quitted their Peerage and Seats in Parliament, in *a Nation of Freedom*, for the Sake of a more ample Revenue, even in this unhappy Kingdom, rather than lie under the Mortification of living below their Dignity at Home? For which, however, they cannot be justly censured. I know indeed, some Persons who offer, as an Argument for repealing the limiting Bill, that it may in future Ages prevent the Practice of providing this Kingdom with Bishops from *England*, when the only Temptation will be removed. And they alledge, that, as Things have gone for some Years past, Gentlemen will grow discouraged from sending their Sons to the University, and from suffering them to enter into Holy Orders, when they are likely to languish under a

* *Dr.* Burnet.

Curacy, or small Vicarage, to the End of their Lives: But this is all a vain Imagination; for the Decrease in the Value of Money will equally affect both Kingdoms: And besides, when Bishopricks here grow too small to invite over Men of Credit and Consequence, they will be left more fully to the Disposal of a chief Governor, who can never fail of some worthless illiterate Chaplain, fond of a Title and Precedence. Thus will that whole Bench, in an Age or two, be composed of mean, ignorant, fawning Gown-men, humble Suppliants and Dependents upon the *Court* for a Morsel of Bread, and ready to serve every Turn that shall be demanded from them, in Hopes of getting some *Commendam* tacked to their Sees; which must then be the Trade, as it is now too much in *England*, to the great Discouragement of the inferior Clergy. Neither is that Practice without Example among us.

It is now about Eighty-five Years since the passing of that limiting Act, and there is but one Instance, in the Memory of Man, of a Bishop's Lease broken upon the Plea of not being statutable; which, in every Body's Opinion, could have been lost by no other Person than he who was then Tenant, and happened to be very ungracious in his County. In the present * Bishop of *Meath*'s Case, that Plea did not avail, although the Lease were notoriously unstatutable; the Rent reserved, being, as I have been told, not a seventh Part of the real Value; yet the Jury, upon their Oaths, *very gravely* found it to be according to the Statute; and one of them was heard to say, That he would *eat his Shoes* before he would give a Verdict for the Bishop. A very few more have made the same Attempt with as little Success. Every Bishop, and other Ecclesiastical Body, reckon Forty Pounds in an Hundred to be a reasonable half Value; or if it be only a third Part, it seldom, or never, breeds any Difference between Landlord and Tenant. But when the Rent is from five to nine or ten Parts less than the Worth; the Bishop, if he consults the Good of his See, will be apt to expostulate; and the Tenant, if he be an honest Man, will have some Regard to the

* Dr. *Evans*, a *Welchman*.

Reasonableness and Justice of the Demand, so as to yield to a moderate Advancement, rather than engage in a Suit, where Law and Equity are directly against him. By these Means, the Bishops have been so true to their Trusts, as to procure some small Share in the Advancement of Rents; although it be notorious that they do not receive the third Penny (Fines included) of the real Value of their Lands throughout the Kingdom.

I WAS never able to imagine what Inconvenience could accrue to the Publick, by one or two Thousand Pounds a Year, in the Hands of a Protestant Bishop, any more than of a Lay Person. * The former, generally speaking, liveth as piously and hospitably as the other; pays his Debts as honestly, and spends as much of his Revenue among his Tenants: Besides, if they be his immediate Tenants, you may distinguish them, at first Sight, by their Habits and Horses; or if you go to their Houses, by their comfortable Way of living. But the Misfortune is, that such immediate Tenants, generally speaking, have others under them, and so a Third and Fourth in Subordination, till it comes to the *Welder* (as they call him) who sits at a Rack Rent, and lives as miserably as an *Irish* Farmer upon a new Lease from a Lay Landlord. But suppose a Bishop happens to be avaricious, (as being composed of the same Stuff with other Men) the Consequence to the Publick is no worse than if he were a 'Squire; for he leaves his Fortune to his Son, or near Relation, who, if he be rich enough, will never think of entring into the Church.

AND, as there can be no Disadvantage to the Publick, in a Protestant Country, that a Man should hold Lands as a *Bishop*, any more than if he were a *Temporal* Person; so it is of great Advantage to the Community, where a Bishop lives as he ought to do. He is bound, in Conscience, to reside in his Diocese, and, by a solemn Promise, to keep Hospitality; his Estate is spent in the Kingdom, not remitted to *England*; he keeps the Clergy to their Duty, and is an Example of Virtue both to them and the

* *Note*, This Part of the Paragraph is to be applied to the Period, when the Whole was written, which was ten Years ago, and several of the late Queen's Bishops were then living.

People. Suppose him an ill Man; yet his very Character will withhold him from any great or open Exorbitancies. But, in Fact, it must be allowed, that some Bishops of this Kingdom, within twenty Years past, have done very signal and lasting Acts of publick Charity; great Instances whereof, are the * late and † present Primate, the Lord ¶ Archbishop of *Dublin* that now is, who hath left Memorials of his Bounty in many Parts of his Province. I might add, the Bishop of †† *Raphoe*, and several others: Not forgetting the late Dean of *Down*, Dr. *Pratt*, who bestowed one Thousand Pounds upon the University: Which Foundation, (that I may observe by the Way) if the Bill proposed should pass, would be in the same Circumstances with the Bishops, nor ever able again to advance the Stipends of the Fellows and Students, as lately they found it necessary to do; the determinate Sum appointed by the Statutes for Commons, being not half sufficient, by the Fall of Money, to afford necessary Sustenance. But the passing of such a Bill must put an End to all Ecclesiastical Beneficence for the Time to come; and whether this will be supplied by those who are to reap the Benefit, better than it hath been done by the Grantees of impropriate Tythes, who received them upon the old Church Conditions of keeping Hospitality; it will be easy to conjecture.

To alledge, that passing such a Bill would be a good Encouragement to improve Bishops Lands, is a great Error. Is it not the general Method of Landlords, to wait the Expiration of a Lease, and then cant their Lands to the highest Bidder? And what should hinder the same Course to be taken in Church Leases, when the Limitation is removed of paying half the real Value to the Bishop? In riding through the Country, how few Improvements do we see upon the Estates of Laymen, farther than about their own Domains? To say the Truth, it is a great Misfortune as well to the Publick as to the Bishops themselves, that their Lands are generally let to Lords and great 'Squires, who, in Reason, were never designed to be Tenants; and therefore may naturally murmur at the Payment of Rent, as a Subserviency they

* *Dr.* Marsh. † *Dr.* Lindsay. ¶ *Dr.* King. †† *Dr.* Forster.

were not born to. If the Tenants to the Church were honest Farmers, they would pay their Fines and Rents with Chearfulness, improve their Lands, and thank God they were to give but a moderate half Value for what they held. I have heard a Man of a Thousand Pounds a Year, talk with great Contempt of Bishops Leases, as being on a worse Foot than the rest of his Estate; and he had certainly Reason: My Answer was, that such Leases were originally intended only for the Benefit of industrious Husbandmen, who would think it a great Blessing to be so provided for, instead of having his Farm screwed up to the Height, not eating one comfortable Meal in a Year, nor able to find Shoes for his Children.

I KNOW not any Advantage that can accrue by such a Bill, except the preventing of Perjury in Jurymen, and false Dealing in Tenants; which is a Remedy like that of giving my Money to an Highwayman, before he attempts to take it by Force; and so I shall be sure to prevent the Sin of Robbery.

I HAD wrote thus far, and thought to have put an End; when a Bookseller sent me a small Pamphlet, entitled, *The Case of the Laity, with some Queries*; full of the strongest Malice against the Clergy, that I have any where met with since the Reign of *Toland*, and others of that Tribe. These Kinds of Advocates do infinite Mischief to OUR GOOD CAUSE, by giving Grounds to the unjust Reproaches of TORIES and JACOBITES, who charge us with being Enemies to the Church. If I bear an hearty unfeigned Loyalty to his Majesty King *GEORGE*, and the House of *Hanover*, not shaken in the least by the Hardships we lie under, which never can be imputable to so gracious a Prince: If I sincerely abjure the PRETENDER, and all POPISH SUCCESSORS; if I bear a due Veneration to the glorious Memory of the late King *WILLIAM*, who preserved these Kingdoms from POPERY and SLAVERY, with the Expence of his Blood, and Hazard of his Life: And lastly, if I am for a proper Indulgence to all *Dissenters*; I think nothing more can be reasonably demanded of *Me* as a WHIG, and that my political Catechism is full and compleat. But whoever, under the Shelter of that Party-Denomination, and of many great Professions of Loyalty, would destroy, or undermine, or injure the

CHURCH established; I utterly disown him, and think he ought to chuse another Name of Distinction for himself, and his Adherents. I came into the Cause upon other Principles, which, by the Grace of GOD, I mean to preserve as long as I live. Shall we justify the Accusations of our Adversaries? *Hoc Ithacus velit.*— The TORIES and JACOBITES will behold us with a malicious Pleasure, determined upon the Ruin of our *Friends*: For is not the present Set of Bishops almost intirely of that Number, as well as a great Majority of the principal Clergy? And a short Time will reduce the whole, by Vacancies upon Death.

An impartial Reader, if he pleases to examine what I have already said, will easily answer the bold *Queries* in the Pamphlet I mentioned; he will be convinced, that *the Reason still strongly exists, for which* that limiting Law was enacted. A reasonable Man will wonder, where can be *the insufferable Grievance*, that an *Ecclesiastical* Landlord should expect a moderate, or third Part Value in Rent for his Lands, when his Title is, *at least*, as ancient and as legal as that of a Lay-man; who is yet but seldom guilty of giving such beneficial Bargains. Has *the Nation been thrown into Confusion*? And have *many poor Families been ruined* by Rack-Rents paid for the Lands of the Church? Does *the Nation cry out* to have a Law that must, in Time, send their Bishops a begging? But, GOD be thanked, the *Clamour* of Enemies to the Church is not yet the *Cry*, and, I hope, will never prove the *Voice* of the Nation. The Clergy, I conceive, will hardly allow that *the People maintain them*, any more than in the Sense, that all Landlords whatsoever are maintained by the People. Such Assertions as these, and the Insinuations they carry along with them, proceed from Principles which cannot be avowed by those who are for preserving the happy *Constitution* in *Church* and *State*. Whoever were the Proposers of such *Queries*, it might have provoked a bold Writer to retaliate, perhaps with more Justice than Prudence, by shewing at whose Door the Grievance lies, and that the Bishops, *at least*, are not to answer for the Poverty of Tenants.

To gratify this great Reformer, who enlarges the *Episcopal* Rent-Roll almost one half; let me suppose that all the Church Lands in the Kingdom were thrown up to the Laity; would the

Tenants, in such a Case, sit easier in their Rents than they do now? Or, would the Money be equally spent in the Kingdom? No: The Farmer would be screwed up to the utmost Penny, by the Agents and Stewards of *Absentees*, and the Revenues employed in making a Figure at *London*; to which City a full third Part of the whole *Income* of *Ireland* is annually returned, to answer that single *Article* of *Maintenance* for *Irish* Landlords.

ANOTHER of his Quarrels is against *Pluralities* and *Non-Residence*: As to the former, it is a Word of ill Name, but not well understood. The Clergy having been stripped of the greatest Part of their Revenues, the *Glebes* being generally lost, the *Tythes* in the Hands of Laymen, the Churches demolished, and the Country depopulated; in order to preserve a Face of *Christianity*, it was necessary to unite small *Vicarages*, sufficient to make a tolerable Maintenance for a *Minister*. The Profit of Ten or a Dozen of these *Unions*, do seldom amount to above Eighty or an Hundred Pounds a Year: If there be a very few *Dignitaries*, whose Preferments are, perhaps, more liable to this Accusation, it is to be supposed, they may be *Favourites of the Time*, or Persons of *superior* Merit, for whom there hath ever been some Indulgence in all Governments.

As to *Non-Residence*, I believe there is no Christian Country upon Earth, where the Clergy have less to answer for upon that *Article*. I am confident there are not ten Clergymen in the Kingdom, who, properly speaking, can be termed *Non-Residents*: For surely, we are not to reckon in that Number, those who, for want of *Glebes*, are forced to retire to the nearest neighbouring Village for a *Cabbin* to put their Heads in; the leading Man of the Parish, when he makes the greatest Clamour, being least disposed to accommodate the *Minister* with an Acre of Ground. And, indeed, considering the *Difficulties* the Clergy lie under upon this Head, it hath been frequent Matter of Wonder to *Me*, how they are able to perform that Part of their Duty as well as they do.

THERE is a * noble Author, who hath lately addressed to the

* *The late Lord* Molesworth.

House of COMMONS, an excellent Discourse for *the Encouragement of Agriculture*; full of most useful *Hints*, which, I hope, that honourable ASSEMBLY will consider as they deserve. I am not a Stranger to his Lordship; and, excepting in what relates to the Church, there are few Persons with whose Opinions I am better pleased to agree; and am, therefore, grieved when I find him charging the Inconveniencies in the Payment of *Tythes* upon the *Clergy* and their *Proctors*. His Lordship is above considering a very known and vulgar Truth, that the meanest Farmer hath all Manner of Advantages against the most *powerful* Clergymen, by whom it is impossible he can be wronged, although the *Minister* were ever so evil disposed; the whole System of *teazing*, *perplexing*, and *defrauding* the *Proctor*, or his *Master*, being as well known to every *Plowman*, as the reaping or sowing of his Corn, and much more artfully practised. Besides, the leading Man in the Parish must have his *Tythes* at his own Rate, which is hardly ever above one Quarter of the Value. And I have heard it computed by many skilful Observers, whose Interest was not concerned, that the Clergy did not receive, throughout the Kingdom, one Half of what the Laws have made their Due.

As to his Lordship's Discontent against the *Bishops-Courts*; I shall not interpose further than in venturing my private Opinion, that the Clergy would be very glad to recover their just *Dues* by a more *short*, *decisive*, and *compulsive* Method, than such a cramped and limited Jurisdiction will allow.

His Lordship is not the only Person disposed to give the Clergy the Honour of being the *sole* Encouragers of all new Improvements. If *Hops*, *Hemp*, *Flax*, and Twenty *Things* more are to be planted, the Clergy, *alone*, must reward the industrious Farmer, by Abatement of the *Tythe*. What if the Owner of Nine Parts in Ten would please to abate proportionably in his Rent, for every Acre thus improved? Would not a Man just dropt from the Clouds, upon a full Hearing, judge the Demand to be, at least, as reasonable?

I BELIEVE no Man will dispute his Lordship's Title to his Estate; nor will I the *Jus Divinum* of *Tythes*, which he mentions with some Emotion. I suppose the Affirmative would be of little

Advantage to the Clergy, for the same Reason that a *Maxim in Law* hath more Weight in the World, than an *Article of Faith*. And yet, I think there may be such a Thing as *Sacrilege*; because it is frequently mentioned by *Greek* and *Roman* Authors, as well as described in *Holy Writ*. This I am sure of; that his Lordship would, at any Time, excuse a PARLIAMENT for not concerning it self in his Properties, without his own Consent.

THE Observations I have made upon his Lordship's Discourse, have not, I confess, been altogether proper to my Subject: However, since he hath been pleased therein to offer some Proposals to the House of Commons, with relation to the Clergy, I hope he will excuse me for differing from him; which proceeds from his own Principle, the Desire of defending *Liberty* and *Property*, that he hath so strenuously and constantly maintained.

BUT the other Writer openly declares for a Law, empowering the Bishops to set *Fee-Farms*; and says, *Whoever intimates that they will deny their Consent to such a reasonable Law, which the whole Nation cries for, are Enemies to them and the Church.* Whether this be his real Opinion, or only a Strain of Mirth and Irony, the Matter is not much. However, my Sentiments are so directly contrary to his; that I think, whoever impartially reads and considers what I have written upon this Argument, hath either no Regard for the Church established under the Hierarchy of Bishops, or will never consent to any Law that shall repeal, or elude the limiting Clause, relating to the real half Value, contained in the Act of Parliament *Decimo Caroli*, *For the Preservation of the Inheritance, Rights and Profits of Lands belonging to the Church, and Persons Ecclesiastical*; which was grounded upon Reasons that do still, and must for ever subsist.

October 21,
1723.

A

LETTER

TO A

Young GENTLEMAN,

Lately enter'd into

HOLY ORDERS.

By a Perſon of QUALITY.

☞ *It is certainly known, that the following Treatiſe was writ in* Ireland *by the Reverend Dr.* SWIFT, *Dean of St.* Patrick's *in that Kingdom.*

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A

LETTER

TO A

Young GENTLEMAN,

Lately entered into

HOLY ORDERS.

By a Person of QUALITY.

Dated *January* 9, 1719-20.

SIR,

ALTHOUGH it were against my Knowledge, or Advice, that you entered into Holy Orders, under the present Dispositions of Mankind towards the *Church*; yet, since it is now supposed too late to recede, (at least according to the general Practice and Opinion,) I cannot forbear offering my Thoughts to you upon this new Condition of Life you are engaged in.

I COULD heartily wish that the Circumstances of your Fortune had enabled you to have continued some Years longer in the University, at least, until you were ten Years standing; to have laid in a competent Stock of human Learning, and some Knowledge in Divinity, before you attempted to appear in the World: For I cannot but lament the common Course, which at least Nine in Ten of those, who enter into the Ministry, are obliged to run. When they have taken a Degree, and are consequently grown a Burden to their Friends, who now think themselves

fully discharged; they get into Orders as soon as they can, (upon which I shall make no Remarks,) first sollicit a Readership, and if they be very fortunate, arrive in Time to a Curacy here in Town; or else are sent to be Assistants in the Country, where they probably continue several Years (many of them their whole Lives) with thirty or forty Pounds a Year for their Support, until some Bishop, who happens to be not over-stocked with Relations, or attached to Favourites, or is content to supply his Diocese without Colonies from *England*, bestows them some inconsiderable Benefice; when it is odds they are already encumbered with a numerous Family. I would be glad to know what Intervals of Life such Persons can possibly set apart for Improvement of their Minds; or which Way they could be furnished with Books; the Library they brought with them from their College being usually not the most numerous, or judiciously chosen. If such Gentlemen arrive to be great Scholars, it must, I think, be either by Means supernatural, or by a Method altogether out of any Road yet known to the Learned. But I conceive the Fact directly otherwise; and that many of them lose the greatest Part of the small Pittance they received at the University.

I TAKE it for granted, that you intend to pursue the beaten Track, and are already desirous to be seen in a Pulpit; only I hope you will think it proper to pass your Quarentine among some of the desolate Churches five Miles round this Town, where you may at least learn to *read* and to *speak*, before you venture to expose your Parts in a City-Congregation: Not that these are better Judges, but because if a Man must needs expose his Folly, it is more safe and discreet to do so, before few Witnesses, and in a scattered Neighbourhood. And you will do well, if you can prevail upon some intimate and judicious Friend to be your constant Hearer, and allow him with the utmost Freedom to give you Notice of whatever he shall find amiss either in your Voice or Gesture; for want of which early Warning, many Clergymen continue defective, and sometimes ridiculous, to the End of their Lives: Neither is it rare to observe among excellent and learned Divines, a certain ungracious Manner, or an unhappy Tone of Voice, which they never have been able to shake off.

I COULD likewise have been glad, if you had applied your self a little more to the Study of the *English* Language, than I fear you have done; the Neglect whereof is one of the most general Defects among the Scholars of this Kingdom, who seem to have not the least Conception of a Stile, but run on in a flat Kind of Phraseology, often mingled with barbarous Terms and Expressions, peculiar to the Nation: Neither do I perceive that any Person either finds or acknowledges his Wants upon this Head, or in the least desires to have them supplyed. Proper Words in proper Places, makes the true Definition of a Stile: But this would require too ample a Disquisition to be now dwelt on. However, I shall venture to name one or two Faults, which are easy to be remedied with a very small Portion of Abilities.

THE first, is the frequent Use of obscure Terms, which by the Women are called *hard Words*, and by the better Sort of Vulgar, *fine Language*; than which I do not know a more universal, inexcusable, and unnecessary Mistake among the Clergy of all Distinctions, but especially the younger Practitioners. I have been curious enough to take a List of several hundred Words in a Sermon of a new Beginner, which not one of his Hearers among a Hundred, could possibly understand: Neither can I easily call to Mind any Clergyman of my own Acquaintance who is wholly exempt from this Error; although many of them agree with me in the Dislike of the Thing. But I am apt to put my self in the Place of the Vulgar, and think many Words difficult or obscure, which the Preacher will not allow to be so, because those Words are obvious to Schollars. I believe the Method observed by the famous Lord *Falkland*, in some of his Writings, would not be an ill one for young Divines: I was assured by an old Person of Quality, who knew him well; that when he doubted whether a Word were perfectly intelligible or no, he used to consult one of his Lady's Chambermaids, (not the Waiting-woman, because it was possible she might be conversant in Romances,) and by her Judgment was guided, whether to receive or reject it. And if that great Person thought such a Caution necessary in Treatises offered to the learned World; it will be sure at least as proper in Sermons, where the meanest Hearer is supposed to be concerned;

and where very often a Lady's Chambermaid may be allowed to equal half the Congregation, both as to Quality and Understanding. But I know not how it comes to pass, that Professors in most Arts and Sciences are generally the worst qualified to explain their Meanings to those who are not of their Tribe: A common Farmer shall make you understand in three Words, *that his Foot is out of Joint, or his Collar-bone broken*; wherein a *Surgeon*, after a hundred Terms of Art, if you are not a Scholar, shall leave you to seek. It is frequently the same Case in Law, Physick, and even many of the meaner Arts.

And upon this Account it is, that among *hard Words*, I number likewise those which are peculiar to Divinity as it is a Science; because I have observed several Clergymen, otherwise little fond of obscure Terms, yet in their Sermons very liberal of those which they find in Ecclesiastical Writers, as if it were our Duty to understand them: Which I am sure it is not. And I defy the greatest Divine, to produce any Law either of God or Man, which obliges me to comprehend the Meaning of *Omniscience*, *Omnipresence*, *Ubiquity*, *Attribute*, *Beatifick Vision*, with a Thousand others so frequent in Pulpits; any more than that of *Excentrick*, *Idiosyncracy*, *Entity*, and the like. I believe, I may venture to insist further, that many Terms used in Holy Writ, particularly by St. *Paul*, might with more Discretion be changed into plainer Speech, except when they are introduced as part of a Quotation.

I am the more earnest in this Matter, because it is a general Complaint, and the justest in the World. For a Divine hath nothing to say to the wisest Congregation of any Parish in this Kingdom, which he may not express in a Manner to be understood by the meanest among them. And this Assertion must be true, or else God requires from us more than we are able to perform. However, not to contend whether a Logician might possibly put a Case that would serve for an Exception; I will appeal to any Man of Letters, whether at least nineteen in twenty of those perplexing Words might not be changed into easy ones, such as naturally first occur to ordinary Men, and probably did so at first to those very Gentlemen, who are so fond of the former.

We are often reproved by Divines from the Pulpits, on Ac-

count of our Ignorance in Things sacred; and perhaps with Justice enough: However, it is not very reasonable for them to expect, that *common Men* should understand Expressions, which are never made use of in *common Life*. No Gentleman thinks it safe or prudent to send a Servant with a Message, without repeating it more than once, and endeavouring to put it into Terms brought down to the Capacity of the Bearer: Yet after all this Care, it is frequent for Servants to mistake, and sometimes occasion Misunderstandings between Friends; although the common Domestics in some Gentlemen's Families, may have more Opportunities of improving their Minds, than the ordinary Sort of Tradesmen.

It is usual for Clergymen who are taxed with this learned Defect, to quote Dr. *Tillotson*, and other famous Divines in their Defence; without considering the Difference between elaborate Discourses upon important Occasions, delivered to Princes or Parliaments, written with a View of being made publick; and a plain Sermon intended for the Middle or lower Size of People. Neither do they seem to remember the many Alterations, Additions, and Expungings made by great Authors, in those Treatises which they prepare for the Publick. Besides, that excellent Prelate above-mentioned, was known to preach after a much more popular Manner in the City Congregations: And if in those Parts of his Works, he be any where too obscure for the Understandings of many, who may be supposed to have been his Hearers; it ought to be numbered among his Omissions.

The Fear of being thought Pedants hath been of pernicious Consequence to young Divines. This hath wholly taken many of them off from their severer Studies in the University; which they have exchanged for Plays, Poems, and Pamphlets, in order to qualify them for Tea-Tables and Coffee-Houses. This they usually call *Polite Conversation*, *knowing the World*, and *reading Men instead of Books*. These Accomplishments, when applied in the Pulpit, appear by a quaint, terse, florid Style, rounded into Periods and Cadencies, commonly without either Propriety or Meaning. I have listened with my utmost Attention for half an Hour to an Orator of this Species, without being able to understand, much

less to carry away one single Sentence out of a whole Sermon. Others, to shew that their Studies have not been confined to Sciences, or ancient Authors, will talk in the Style of a gaming Ordinary, and *White Friars*; where I suppose the Hearers can be little edified by the Terms of *Palming*, *Shuffling*, *Biting*, *Bamboozling*, and the like, if they have not been sometimes conversant among Pick-pockets and Sharpers. And truly, as they say, a Man is known by his Company; so it should seem, that a Man's Company may be known by his Manner of expressing himself, either in publick Assemblies, or private Conversation.

It would be endless to run over the several Defects of Style among us: I shall therefore say nothing of the *mean* and the *paultry*, (which are usually attended by the *fustian*,) much less of the *slovenly* or *indecent*. Two Things I will just warn you against: The first is, the Frequency of flat, unnecessary Epithets; and the other is, the Folly of using old thread-bare Phrases, which will often make you go out of your Way to find and apply them; are nauseous to rational Hearers, and will seldom express your Meaning as well as your own natural Words.

Although, as I have already observed, our *English* Tongue be too little cultivated in this Kingdom; yet the Faults are nine in ten owing to Affectation, and not to the want of Understanding. When a Man's Thoughts are clear, the properest Words will generally offer themselves first; and his own Judgment will direct him in what Order to place them, so as they may be best understood. Where Men err against this Method, it is usually on Purpose, and to shew their Learning, their Oratory, their Politeness, or their Knowledge of the World. In short, that Simplicity, without which no human Performance can arrive to any great Perfection, is no where more eminently useful than in this.

I have been considering that Part of Oratory, which relates to the moving of the Passions: This, I observe, is in Esteem and Practice among some Church Divines, as well as among all the Preachers and Hearers of the *Fanatick* or *Enthusiastick* Strain. I will here deliver to you (perhaps with more Freedom than Prudence) my Opinion upon the Point.

The two great Orators of *Greece* and *Rome*, *Demosthenes* and

Cicero, although each of them a Leader (or, as the *Greeks* called it, a *Demagogue*) in a popular State; yet seem to differ in their Practice upon this Branch of their Art: The former, who had to deal with a People of much more Politeness, Learning, and Wit, laid the greatest Weight of his Oratory upon the Strength of his Arguments offered to their Understanding and Reason: Whereas, *Tully* considered the Dispositions of a fiercer, more ignorant, and less mercurial Nation, by dwelling almost entirely on the pathetick Part.

But the principal Thing to be remembered is, that the constant Design of both these Orators in all their Speeches, was to drive some one particular Point; either the Condemnation, or Acquittal of an accused Person; a persuasive to War, the enforcing of a Law, and the like; which was determined upon the Spot, according as the Orators on either Side prevailed. And here it was often found of absolute Necessity to enflame, or cool the Passions of the Audience; especially at *Rome*, where *Tully* spoke, and with whose Writings young Divines (I mean those among them who read old Authors) are more conversant than with those of *Demosthenes*; who, by many Degrees, excelled the other, at least as an Orator. But I do not see how this Talent of moving the Passions, can be of any great Use towards directing Christian Men in the Conduct of their Lives, at least in these *Northern* Climates; where, I am confident, the strongest Eloquence of that Kind will leave few Impressions upon any of our Spirits, deep enough to last till the next Morning, or rather to the next Meal.

But what hath chiefly put me out of conceit with this moving Manner of Preaching, is the frequent Disappointment it meets with. I know a Gentleman, who made it a Rule in Reading, to skip over all Sentences where he spied a Note of Admiration at the End. I believe, those Preachers who abound in *Epiphonemas*, if they look about them, would find one Part of their Congregation out of Countenance, and the other asleep; except, perhaps, an old Female Beggar or two in the Isles, who (if they be sincere) may probably groan at the Sound.

Nor is it a Wonder that this Expedient should so often miscarry, which requires so much Art and Genius to arrive at any

Perfection in it; as every Man will find, much sooner than learn, by consulting *Cicero* himself.

I THEREFORE entreat you to make use of this Faculty (if you be ever so unfortunate as to think you have it) as seldom, and with as much Caution as you can; else I may probably have Occasion to say of you, as a great Person said of another upon this very Subject. A Lady asked him, coming out of Church, whether it were not a very moving Discourse? *Yes*, said he, *I was extremely sorry, for the Man is my Friend.*

IF in Company you offer something for a Jest, and no body seconds you in your own Laughter, or seems to relish what you said; you may condemn their Taste, if you please, and appeal to better Judgments; but, in the mean Time, it must be agreed you make a very indifferent Figure: And it is, at least, equally ridiculous to be disappointed in endeavouring to make other Folks grieve, as to make them laugh.

A PLAIN convincing Reason may possibly operate upon the Mind both of a learned and ignorant Hearer, as long as they live; and will edify a Thousand Times more than the Art of wetting the Handkerchiefs of a whole Congregation, if you were sure to attain it.

IF your Arguments be strong, in God's Name offer them in as moving a Manner as the Nature of the Subject will properly admit; wherein Reason, and good Advice will be your safest Guides: But beware of letting the pathetick Part swallow up the rational: For, I suppose, *Philosophers* have long agreed, that Passion should never prevail over Reason.

As I take it, the two principal Branches of Preaching, are first to tell the People what is their Duty; and then to convince them that it is so. The Topicks for both these, we know, are brought from *Scripture* and *Reason*. Upon the former, I wish it were oftner practised to instruct the Hearers in the Limits, Extent, and Compass of every Duty, which requires a good deal of Skill and Judgment: The other Branch is, I think, not so difficult. But what I would offer upon both, is this; that it seems to be in the Power of a reasonable Clergyman, if he will be at the Pains, to make the most ignorant Man comprehend what is his Duty; and to con-

vince him by Arguments, drawn to the Level of his Understanding, that he ought to perform it.

But I must remember, that my Design in this *Paper* was not so much to instruct you in your Business, either as a Clergyman, or a Preacher, as to warn you against some Mistakes, which are obvious to the Generality of Mankind, as well as to me; and we, who are Hearers, may be allowed to have some Opportunities in the Quality of being Standers-by. Only, perhaps, I may now again transgress, by desiring you to express the Heads of your Divisions in as few and clear Words, as you possibly can; otherwise, I, and many Thousand others, will never be able to retain them, nor consequently to carry away a Syllable of the Sermon.

I shall now mention a Particular, wherein your whole Body will be certainly against me; and the Laity, almost to a Man, on my Side. However it came about, I cannot get over the Prejudice of taking some little Offence at the Clergy, for perpetually reading their Sermons; perhaps, my frequent hearing of Foreigners, who never make use of Notes, may have added to my Disgust. And I cannot but think, that whatever is read, differs as much from what is repeated without Book, as a Copy doth from an Original. At the same Time, I am highly sensible what an extreme Difficulty it would be upon you to alter this Method; and that, in such a Case, your Sermons would be much less valuable than they are, for want of Time to improve and correct them. I would therefore gladly come to a Compromise with you in this Matter. I knew a Clergyman of some Distinction, who appeared to deliver his Sermon without looking into his Notes; which, when I complimented him upon, he assured me, he could not repeat six Lines; but his Method was to write the whole Sermon in a large plain Hand, with all the Forms of Margin, Paragraph, marked Page, and the like; then on *Sunday* Morning, he took care to run it over five or six Times, which he could do in an Hour; and when he delivered it, by pretending to turn his Face from one Side to the other, he would (in his own Expression) pick up the Lines, and cheat his People, by making them believe he had it all by Heart. He farther added, that whenever he happened, by Neglect, to omit any of these Circumstances, the Vogue

of the *Parish* was, *our Doctor gave us but an indifferent Sermon to-day*. Now among us, many Clergymen act so directly contrary to this Method; that from a Habit of saving *Time* and *Paper*, which they acquired at the University, they write in so diminutive a Manner, with such frequent Blots and Interlineations, that they are hardly able to go on without perpetual Hesitations, or extemporary Expletives: And I desire to know what can be more inexcusable than to see a Divine, and a Scholar, at a Loss in reading his own Compositions; which, it is supposed, he hath been preparing with much *Pains* and *Thought*, for the Instruction of his People. The Want of a little more Care in this Article, is the Cause of much ungraceful Behaviour. You will observe some Clergymen with their Heads held down from the Beginning to the End, within an Inch of the Cushion, to read what is hardly legible; which, besides the untoward Manner, hinders them from making the best Advantage of their Voice: Others, again, have a Trick of popping up and down every Moment, from their *Paper* to the Audience, like an idle School-Boy on a Repetition-Day.

LET me entreat you therefore, to add one Half-Crown a Year to the Article of *Paper*; to transcribe your Sermons in as large and plain a Manner as you can, and either make no Interlineations, or change the whole Leaf: For we, your Hearers, would rather you should be less correct, than perpetually stammering; which I take to be one of the worst *Solecisms* in *Rhetorick*. And lastly, read your Sermon once or twice, for a few Days before you preach it: To which you will probably answer some Years hence, *That it was but just finished when the last Bell rang to Church*; and I shall readily believe, but not excuse you.

I CANNOT forbear warning you, in the most earnest Manner, against endeavouring at Wit in your Sermons: Because, by the strictest Computation, it is very near a Million to One, that you have none; and because too many of your Calling, have consequently made themselves everlastingly ridiculous by attempting it. I remember several young Men in this Town, who could never leave the *Pulpit* under half a Dozen *Conceits*; and this Faculty adhered to those Gentlemen a longer or shorter Time, exactly in Proportion to their several Degrees of Dulness: Accordingly, I

am told that some of them retain it to this Day. I heartily wish the Brood were at an End.

BEFORE you enter into the common unsufferable Cant, of taking all Occasions to disparage the Heathen *Philosophers*; I hope you will differ from some of your Brethren, by first enquiring what those *Philosophers* can say for themselves. The System of Morality to be gathered out of the Writings, or Sayings of those antient Sages, falls undoubtedly very short of that delivered in the Gospel; and wants, besides, the Divine Sanction which our Saviour gave to his. Whatever is further related by the Evangelists, contains chiefly Matters of Fact, and consequently of Faith; such as the Birth of Christ, his being the Messiah, his Miracles, his Death, Resurrection, and Ascension: None of which can properly come under the Appellation of human Wisdom, being intended only to make us wise unto Salvation. And therefore in this Point, nothing can be justly laid to the Charge of the *Philosophers*; further, than that they were ignorant of certain Facts which happened long after their Death. But I am deceived, if a better Comment could be any where collected upon the moral Part of the Gospel, than from the Writings of those excellent Men. Even that divine Precept of loving our Enemies, is at large insisted on by *Plato*; who puts it, as I remember, into the Mouth of *Socrates*. And as to the Reproach of Heathenism, I doubt they had less of it than the corrupted *Jews*, in whose Time they lived. For it is a gross Piece of Ignorance among us, to conceive, that in those polite and learned Ages, even Persons of any tolerable Education, much less the wisest Philosophers, did acknowledge, or worship any more than one Almighty Power, under several Denominations, to whom they allowed all those Attributes we ascribe to the Divinity: And, as I take it, human Comprehension reacheth no further: Neither did our Saviour think it necessary to explain to us the Nature of God; because I suppose it would be impossible, without bestowing on us other Faculties than we possess at present. But the true Misery of the Heathen World, appears to be what I before mentioned, the Want of a Divine Sanction; without which, the Dictates of the Philosophers failed in the Point of Authority; and consequently the Bulk of Mankind

lay, indeed, under a great Load of Ignorance, even in the Article of Morality; but the Philosophers themselves did not. Take the Matter in this Light, and it will afford Field enough for a Divine to enlarge on; by shewing the Advantages which the Christian World hath over the Heathen; and the absolute Necessity of Divine Revelation, to make the Knowledge of the true God, and the Practice of Virtue more universal in the World.

I AM not ignorant how much I differ in this Opinion from some ancient Fathers in the Church; who arguing against the Heathens, made it a principal Topick to decry their Philosophy as much as they could: Which, I hope, is not altogether our present Case. Besides, it is to be considered, that those Fathers lived in the Decline of *Literature*; and in my Judgment, (who should be unwilling to give the least Offence,) appear to be rather most excellent holy Persons, than of transcendent Genius and Learning. Their genuine Writings (for many of them have extreamly suffered by spurious Additions) are of admirable Use for confirming the Truth of ancient Doctrines and Discipline; by shewing the State and Practice of the primitive Church. But among such of them, as have fallen in my Way, I do not remember any, whose Manner of arguing or exhorting I could heartily recommend to the Imitation of a young Divine, when he is to speak from the Pulpit. Perhaps I judge too hastily, there being several of them, in whose Writings I have made very little Progress, and in others none at all. For I perused only such as were recommended to me, at a Time when I had more Leisure, and a better Disposition to read, than have since fallen to my Share.

To return then to the Heathen Philosophers: I hope you will not only give them Quarter, but make their Works a considerable Part of your Study. To these I will venture to add the principal Orators and Historians, and perhaps a few of the Poets: By the reading of which, you will soon discover your Mind and Thoughts to be enlarged, your Imagination extended and refined, your Judgment directed, your Admiration lessened, and your Fortitude increased. All which Advantages must needs be of excellent Use to a Divine, whose Duty it is to preach and practise the Contempt of human Things.

I WOULD say something concerning Quotations; wherein I think you cannot be too sparing, except from Scripture, and the primitive Writers of the Church. As to the former, when you offer a Text as a Proof or an Illustration, we your Hearers expect to be fairly used; and sometimes think we have Reason to complain, especially of you younger Divines; which makes us fear, that some of you conceive you have no more to do than to turn over a Concordance, and there having found the principal Word, introduce as much of the Verse as will serve your Turn, although in Reality it makes nothing for you. I do not altogether disapprove the Manner of interweaving Texts of Scripture through the Style of your Sermon; wherein, however, I have sometimes observed great Instances of Indiscretion and Impropriety; against which I therefore venture to give you a Caution.

As to Quotations from antient Fathers, I think they are best brought in, to confirm some Opinion controverted by those who differ from us: In other Cases we give you full Power to adopt the Sentence for your own, rather than tell us, *as St.* Austin *excellently observes*: But to mention modern Writers by Name, or use the Phrase of *a late excellent Prelate of our Church*, and the like, is altogether intolerable; and, for what Reason I know not, makes every rational Hearer ashamed. Of no better a Stamp is your *Heathen Philosopher*, and *famous Poet*, and *Roman Historian*; at least in common Congregations, who will rather believe you on your own Word, than on that of *Plato* or *Homer*.

I HAVE lived to see *Greek* and *Latin* almost entirely driven out of the Pulpit; for which I am heartily glad. The frequent Use of the latter was certainly a Remnant of Popery, which never admitted Scripture in the vulgar Language; and I wonder that Practice was never accordingly objected to us by the Fanaticks.

THE Mention of Quotations puts me in mind of Commonplace Books, which have been long in use by industrious young Divines, and, I hear, do still continue so; I know they are very beneficial to Lawyers and Physicians, because they are Collections of Facts or Cases, whereupon a great Part of their several Faculties depend: Of these I have seen several, but never yet any written by a Clergyman; only from what I am informed, they

generally are Extracts of Theological and Moral Sentences, drawn from Ecclesiastical and other Authors, reduced under proper Heads; usually begun, and perhaps, finished, while the Collectors were young in the Church; as being intended for Materials, or Nurseries to stock future Sermons. You will observe the wise Editors of ancient Authors, when they meet a Sentence worthy of being distinguished, take special Care to have the first Word printed in Capital Letters, that you may not overlook it: Such, for Example, as the *Inconstancy of Fortune, the Goodness of Peace, the Excellency of Wisdom, the Certainty of Death; that Prosperity makes Men insolent, and Adversity humble*; and the like eternal Truths, which every Plowman knows well enough, although he never heard of *Aristotle* or *Plato*. If Theological Common-Place Books be no better filled, I think they had better be laid aside: And I could wish, that Men of tolerable Intellectuals would rather trust to their own natural Reason, improved by a general Conversation with Books, to enlarge on Points which they are supposed already to understand. If a rational Man reads an excellent Author with just Application, he shall find himself extremely improved, and perhaps insensibly led to imitate that Author's Perfections; although in a little Time he should not remember one Word in the Book, nor even the Subject it handled: For, Books give the same Turn to our Thoughts and Way of Reasoning, that good and ill Company do to our Behaviour and Conversation; without either loading our Memories, or making us even sensible of the Change. And particularly, I have observed in Preaching, that no Men succeed better than those, who trust entirely to the Stock or Fund of their own Reason; advanced, indeed, but not overlaid by Commerce with Books. Whoever only reads, in order to transcribe wise and shining Remarks, without entering into the Genius and Spirit of the Author; as it is probable he will make no very judicious Extract, so he will be apt to trust to that Collection in all his Compositions; and be misled out of the regular Way of Thinking, in order to introduce those Materials which he hath been at the Pains to gather: And the Product of all this, will be found a manifest incoherent Piece of Patchwork.

Some Gentlemen abounding in their University Erudition, are

apt to fill their Sermons with philosophical Terms, and Notions of the metaphysical or abstracted Kind; which generally have one Advantage, to be equally understood by the Wise, the Vulgar, and the Preacher himself. I have been better entertained, and more informed by a Chapter in the *Pilgrim's Progress*, than by a long Discourse upon the *Will* and the *Intellect*, and *simple* or *complex Ideas*. Others again, are fond of dilating on *Matter* and *Motion*, talk of the *fortuitous Concourse of Atoms*, of *Theories*, and *Phænomena*; directly against the Advice of St. *Paul*, who yet appears to have been conversant enough in those Kinds of Studies.

I DO not find that you are any where directed in the Canons, or Articles, to attempt explaining the Mysteries of the Christian Religion. And, indeed, since Providence intended there should be Mysteries; I do not see how it can be agreeable to *Piety*, *Orthodoxy*, or good *Sense*, to go about such a Work. For, to me there seems to be a manifest Dilemma in the Case: If you explain them, they are Mysteries no longer; if you fail, you have laboured to no Purpose. What I should think most reasonable and safe for you to do, upon this Occasion, is upon solemn Days to deliver the Doctrine as the Church holds it, and confirm it by Scripture. For my Part, having considered the Matter impartially, I can see no great Reason which those Gentlemen, you call the *Free-Thinkers*, can have for their Clamour against Religious Mysteries; since it is plain, they were not invented by the Clergy, to whom they bring no Profit, nor acquire any Honour. For every Clergyman is ready, either to tell us the utmost he knows, or to confess that he doth not understand them: Neither is it strange, that there should be Mysteries in Divinity, as well as in the commonest Operations of Nature.

AND here I am at a Loss what to say, upon the frequent Custom of preaching against *Atheism*, *Deism*, *Free-Thinking*, and the like; as young Divines are particularly fond of doing, especially when they exercise their Talent in Churches, frequented by People of Quality; which, as it is but an ill Compliment to the Audience, so I am under some doubt whether it answers the End. Because, Persons under those Imputations are generally no great Frequenters of Churches, and so the Congregation is but

little edified for the Sake of three or four Fools, who are past Grace. Neither do I think it any Part of *Prudence*, to perplex the Minds of well-disposed People with Doubts, which probably would never have otherwise come into their Heads. But I am of Opinion, and dare be positive in it, that not one in a Hundred of those, who pretend to be *Free-Thinkers*, are really so in their Hearts. For there is one Observation which I never knew to fail, and I desire you will examine it in the Course of your Life; that no Gentleman of a liberal Education, and regular in his Morals, did ever profess himself a *Free-Thinker*: Where then are these Kind of People to be found? Amongst the worst Part of the Soldiery, made up of Pages, younger Brothers of obscure Families, and others of desperate Fortunes; or else among idle Town-Fops; and now and then a drunken 'Squire of the Country. Therefore, nothing can be plainer, than that Ignorance, and Vice, are two Ingredients absolutely necessary in the Composition of those you generally call *Free-Thinkers*; who, in Propriety of Speech, *are no Thinkers at all.* And, since I am in the way of it, pray consider one Thing farther: As young as you are, you cannot but have already observed, what a violent Run there is among too many weak People, against University Education: Be firmly assured, that the whole Cry is made up by those, who were either never sent to a College; or through their Irregularities and Stupidity, never made the least Improvement while they were there. I have above Forty of the latter now in my Eye; several of them in this Town, whose *Learning*, *Manners*, *Temperance*, *Probity*, *Good-nature*, and *Politicks*, are all of a-piece. Others of them in the Country, oppressing their Tenants, tyrannizing over the Neighbourhood, cheating the Vicar, talking Nonsense, and getting drunk at the Sessions. It is from such Seminaries as these, that the World is provided with the several Tribes and Denominations of *Free-Thinkers*; who, in my Judgment, are not to be reformed by Arguments offered to prove the Truth of the *Christian Religion*; because, *Reasoning* will never make a Man correct an ill Opinion, which by *Reasoning* he never acquired: For, in the Course of Things, Men always grow vicious before they become Unbelievers: But if you could once convince the Town or Country

Profligate, by Topicks drawn from the View of their own *Quiet*, *Reputation*, *Health*, and *Advantage*; their *Infidelity* would soon drop off: This, I confess, is no easy Task; because it is almost in a literal Sense, to *fight with Beasts*. Now, to make it clear, that we are to look for no other Original of this *Infidelity*, whereof Divines so much complain; it is allowed on all Hands, that the People of *England* are more corrupt in their *Morals*, than any other Nation at this Day under the *Sun*: And this Corruption is manifestly owing to other Causes, both *numerous* and *obvious*, much more than to the Publication of irreligious Books; which, indeed, are but the Consequence of the former. For, all the Writers against Christianity, since the Revolution, have been of the lowest Rank among Men, in regard to *Literature*, *Wit*, and good *Sense*; and upon that Account, wholly unqualified to propagate *Heresies*, unless among People already abandoned.

In an Age where every Thing disliked by those, who think with the Majority, is called *Disaffection*; it may perhaps be ill interpreted, when I venture to tell you, that this universal Depravation of *Manners*, is owing to the perpetual bandying of *Factions* among us for Thirty Years past; when, without weighing the *Motives of Justice*, *Law*, *Conscience*, or *Honour*, every Man adjusts his *Principles* to those of the *Party* he hath chosen, and among whom he may best find his own Account: But, by reason of our frequent Vicissitudes, Men, who were impatient to be out of Play, have been forced to recant, or at least to reconcile their former Tenets with every new System of Administration. Add to this, that the old fundamental Custom of annual Parliaments being wholly laid aside, and Elections growing chargeable; since Gentlemen found that their Country *Seats* brought them in less than a *Seat* in the House; the Voters, *that is to say*, the Bulk of the common People, have been universally seduced into *Bribery*, *Perjury*, *Drunkenness*, *Malice*, and *Slander*.

Not to be further tedious, or rather invidious; these are a few, among other Causes, which have contributed to the Ruin of our *Morals*, and consequently to the Contempt of *Religion*. For, imagine to your self, if you please, a landed Youth, whom his Mother would never suffer to look into a Book, for fear of spoil-

ing his Eyes; got into Parliament, and observing all Enemies to the Clergy heard with the utmost Applause; what Notions he must imbibe; how readily he will join in the Cry; what an Esteem he will conceive of himself; and what a Contempt he must entertain, not only for his Vicar at home, but for the whole Order.

I THEREFORE again conclude, that the Trade of *Infidelity* hath been taken up only for an Expedient to keep in Countenance that universal Corruption of *Morals*, which many other Causes first contributed to introduce, and to cultivate. And thus, Mr. *Hobbes*'s Saying upon Reason, may be much more properly applied to Religion: That, *if Religion will be against a Man, a Man will be against Religion.* Although, after all, I have heard a Profligate offer much stronger Arguments against paying his Debts, than ever he was known to do against *Christianity*; indeed, the Reason was, because in that Juncture he happened to be closer pressed by the *Bailiff* than the *Parson.*

IGNORANCE may, perhaps, be the *Mother* of *Superstition*; but *Experience* hath not proved it to be so of *Devotion*: For *Christianity* always made the most easy and quickest Progress in civilized Countries. I mention this, because it is affirmed, that the Clergy are in most Credit where Ignorance prevails, (and surely this Kingdom would be called the *Paradise* of Clergymen, if that Opinion were true) for which they instance *England* in the Times of *Popery*. But whoever knoweth any Thing of three or four Centuries before the Reformation, will find, the little Learning then stirring, was more equally divided between the *English* Clergy and Laity, than it is at present. There were several famous Lawyers in that *Period*, whose Writings are still in the highest Repute; and some *Historians* and *Poets*, who were not of the *Church*. Whereas, now-a-days our Education is so corrupted, that you will hardly find a young Person of Quality with the least Tincture of Knowledge; at the same Time that† many of the Clergy were never more learned, or so scurvily treated. Here among Us, at least, a Man of Letters, out of the three Professions,

† *N. B. This Discourse was written Fourteen Year ago; since which Time, the Case is extremely altered by Deaths and Successions.*

is almost a Prodigy. And those few who have preserved any Rudiments of Learning, are (except, perhaps, one or two Smatterers) the Clergy's Friends to a Man: For, I dare appeal to any Clergyman in this Kingdom, whether the greatest Dunce in his Parish be not always the most proud, wicked, fraudulent, and intractable of his Flock.

I THINK the Clergy have almost given over perplexing themselves and their Hearers, with abstruse Points of Predestination, Election, and the like; at least, it is time they should; and therefore, I shall not trouble you further upon this Head.

I HAVE now said all I could think convenient with relation to your Conduct in the Pulpit. Your Behaviour in the World is another Scene, upon which, I shall readily offer you my Thoughts, if you appear to desire them from me, by your Approbation of what I have here written; if not, I have already troubled you too much.

I am, SIR,

Your affectionate

Friend and Servant.

JANUARY 9,
1719-20.

Madam

The Hurry and Impertinence of receiving and paying Visits on account of your Marriage, being now over; You are beginning to enter into a Course of Life where you will want much Advice to divert you from falling into many Errors Fopperyes and Follyes to — which your Sex is subject. I have always born an entire Friendship to Your Father and Mother; and the Person they have chosen for Your Husband hath been for some — Years past my particular Favourite. I have long wished ~~that~~ You might come together, because I hoped, that — from the Goodness of Your own Disposition, and by — following the Council of wise Friends, you might in time make your self worthy of him Your Parents were so far in the right that they did not produce you much into the World, whereby you avoided many wrong Steps which others have taken, and have fewer ill Impressions to be removed. But they failed of it is generally the Case, in too much neglecting to cultivate your Mind, — without which it is impossible to acquire or preserve

Facsimile of MS. in Swift's hand-writing.

A

LETTER

TO A

YOUNG LADY,

ON HER

MARRIAGE.

Written in the YEAR 1723.

MADAM,

THE Hurry and Impertinence of receiving and paying Visits on Account of your Marriage, being now over; you are beginning to enter into a Course of Life, where you will want much Advice to divert you from falling into many Errors, Fopperies, and Follies to which your Sex is subject. I have always born an entire Friendship to your Father and Mother; and the Person they have chosen for your Husband hath been for some Years past my particular Favourite. I have long wished you might come together, because I hoped, that from the Goodness of your Disposition, and by following the Council of wise Friends, you might in Time make your self worthy of him. Your Parents were so far in the right, that they did not produce you much into the World; whereby you avoided many wrong Steps which others have taken; and have fewer ill Impressions to be removed: But they failed, as it is generally the Case, in too much neglecting to cultivate your Mind; without which it is impossible

to acquire or preserve the Friendship and Esteem of a wise Man, who soon grows weary of acting the Lover, and treating his Wife like a Mistress, but wants a reasonable Companion, and a true Friend through every Stage of his Life. It must be therefore your Business to qualify your self for those Offices; wherein I will not fail to be your Director as long as I shall think you deserve it, by letting you know how you are to act, and what you ought to avoid.

And beware of despising or neglecting my Instructions, whereon will depend, not only your making a good Figure in the World, but your own real Happiness, as well as that of the Person who ought to be the dearest to you.

I must therefore desire you in the first place to be very slow in changing the modest Behaviour of a Virgin: It is usual in young Wives before they have been many Weeks married, to assume a bold, forward Look and manner of Talking; as if they intended to signify in all Companies, that they were no longer Girls, and consequently that their whole Demeanor, before they got a Husband, was all but a Countenance and Constraint upon their Nature: Whereas, I suppose, if the Votes of wise Men were gathered, a very great Majority would be in favour of those Ladies, who after they were entered into that State, rather chose to double their Portion of Modesty and Reservedness.

I must likewise warn you strictly against the least Degree of Fondness to your Husband before any Witnesses whatsoever, even before your nearest Relations, or the very Maids of your Chamber. This Proceeding is so extremely odious and disgustful to all who have either good Breeding or good Sense, that they assign two very unamiable Reasons for it; the one is gross Hypocrisy, and the other hath too bad a Name to mention. If there is any Difference to be made, your Husband is the lowest Person in Company, either at home or abroad; and every Gentleman present hath a better Claim to all Marks of Civility and Distinction from you. Conceal your Esteem and Love in your own Breast, and reserve your kind Looks and Language for private Hours; which are so many in the Four and Twenty, that they will afford Time to employ a Passion as exalted as any that was ever described in a *French* Romance.

Upon this Head, I should likewise advise you to differ in Practice from those Ladies who affect abundance of Uneasiness while their Husbands are abroad; start with every knock at the Door, and ring the Bell incessantly for their Servants to let in their Master; will not eat a Bit at Dinner or Supper if the Husband happen to stay out; and receive him at his Return with such a Medley of Chiding and Kindness, and catechizing him where he hath been; that a Shrew from *Billingsgate* would be a more easy and eligible Companion.

Of the same Leaven are those Wives, who when their Husbands are gone a Journey, must have a Letter every Post, upon Pain of Fits and Hystericks; and a Day must be fixed for their Return home without the least Allowance for Business, or Sickness, or Accidents, or Weather: Upon which, I can only say, that in my Observation, those Ladies, who are apt to make the greatest Clutter upon such occasions, would liberally have paid a Messenger for bringing them News, that their Husbands had broken their Necks on the Road.

You will perhaps be offended when I advise you to abate a little of that violent Passion for fine Cloaths so predominant in your Sex. It is somewhat hard, that ours, for whose Sake you wear them, are not admitted to be of your Council: I may venture to assure you, that we will make an Abatement at any Time of four Pounds a Yard in a Brocade, if the Ladies will but allow a suitable Addition of Care in the Cleanliness and Sweetness of their Persons: For, the satyrical Part of Mankind will needs believe, that it is not impossible, to be very fine and very filthy; and that the Capacities of a Lady are sometimes apt to fall short in cultivating Cleanliness and Finery together. I shall only add, upon so tender a Subject, what a pleasant Gentleman said concerning a silly Woman of Quality; that nothing could make her supportable but cutting off her Head; for his Ears were offended by her Tongue, and his Nose by her Hair and Teeth.

I am wholly at a Loss how to advise you in the Choice of Company; which, however, is a Point of as great Importance as any in your Life. If your general Acquaintance be among Ladies who are your Equals or Superiors, provided they have nothing

of what is commonly called an ill Reputation, you think you are safe; and this in the Style of the World will pass for good Company. Whereas, I am afraid it will be hard for you to pick out one Female-Acquaintance in this Town, from whom you may not be in manifest Danger of contracting some Foppery, Affectation, Vanity, Folly, or Vice. Your only safe Way of conversing with them, is by a firm Resolution to proceed in your Practice and Behaviour, directly contrary to whatever they shall say or do: And this I take to be a good general Rule, with very few Exceptions. For Instance, In the Doctrines they usually deliver to young-married Women for managing their Husbands; their several Accounts of their own Conduct in that Particular, to recommend it to your Imitation; the Reflections they make upon others of their Sex for acting differently; their Directions how to come off with Victory upon any Dispute or Quarrel you may have with your Husband; the Arts by which you may discover and practice upon his weak Sides; when to work by Flattery and Insinuation; when to melt him with Tears; and when to engage him with a high Hand. In these, and a thousand other Cases, it will be prudent to retain as many of their Lectures in your Memory as you can, and then determine to act in full Opposition to them all.

I HOPE your Husband will interpose his Authority to limit you in the Trade of Visiting: Half a dozen Fools are in all Conscience as many as you should require; and it will be sufficient for you to see them twice a Year: For I think the Fashion does not exact that Visits should be paid to Friends.

I ADVISE that your Company at home should consist of Men rather than Women. To say the Truth, I never yet knew a tolerable Woman to be fond of her own Sex: I confess, when both are mixt and well chosen, and put their best Qualities forward, there may be an Intercourse of Civility and Good-will; which, with the Addition of some Degree of Sense, can make Conversation or any Amusement agreeable. But a Knot of Ladies, got together by themselves, is a very School of Impertinence and Detraction; and it is well if those be the worst.

LET your Men-Acquaintance be of your Husband's Choice,

and not recommended to you by any She-companions; because they will certainly fix a Coxcomb upon you; and it will cost you some Time and Pains before you can arrive at the Knowledge of distinguishing such a one from a Man of Sense.

NEVER take a Favourite-Waiting-Maid into your Cabinet-Council, to entertain you with Histories of those Ladies whom she hath formerly served; of their Diversions and their Dresses; to insinuate how great a Fortune you brought, and how little you are allowed to squander; to appeal to her from your Husband, and to be determined by her Judgment, because you are sure it will be always for you; to receive and discard Servants by her Approbation, or Dislike; to engage you by her Insinuations into Misunderstandings with your best Friends; to represent all Things in false Colours, and to be the common Emissary of Scandal.

BUT, the grand Affair of your Life will be to gain and preserve the Friendship and Esteem of your Husband. You are married to a Man of good Education and Learning, of an excellent Understanding, and an exact Taste. It is true, and it is happy for you, that these Qualities in him are adorned with great Modesty, a most amiable Sweetness of Temper, and an unusual Disposition to Sobriety and Virtue: But neither Good-nature, nor Virtue, will suffer him to esteem you against his Judgment; and although he be not capable of using you ill, yet you will, in Time, grow a Thing indifferent, and perhaps contemptible, unless you can supply the Loss of Youth and Beauty with more durable Qualities. You have but a very few Years to be young and handsome in the Eyes of the World; and as few Months to be so in the Eyes of a Husband, who is not a Fool; for, I hope, you do not still dream of Charms and Raptures; which Marriage ever did, and ever will put a sudden End to. Besides, yours was a Match of Prudence, and common Good-liking, without any Mixture of that ridiculous Passion which hath no Being, but in Play-Books and Romances.

YOU must, therefore, use all Endeavours to attain to some Degree of those Accomplishments, which your Husband most values in other People, and for which he is most valued himself.

You must improve your Mind, by closely pursuing such a Method of Study, as I shall direct or approve of. You must get a Collection of History and Travels, which I will recommend to you; and spend some Hours every Day in reading them, and making Extracts from them, if your Memory be weak. You must invite Persons of Knowledge and Understanding to an Acquaintance with you, by whose Conversation you may learn to correct your Taste and Judgment: And when you can bring yourself to comprehend and relish the good Sense of others, you will arrive, in Time, to think rightly yourself, and to become a reasonable and agreeable Companion. This must produce in your Husband a true rational Love and Esteem for you, which old Age will not diminish. He will have a Regard for your Judgment and Opinion, in Matters of the greatest Weight; you will be able to entertain each other, without a third Person to relieve you, by finding Discourse. The Endowments of your Mind will even make your Person more agreeable to him; and when you are alone, your Time will not lie heavy upon your Hands, for want of some trifling Amusement.

As little Respect as I have for the Generality of your Sex, it hath sometimes moved me with Pity, to see the Lady of the House forced to withdraw, immediately after Dinner, and this in Families where there is not much Drinking; as if it were an established Maxim, that Women are incapable of all Conversation. In a Room where both Sexes meet, if the Men are discoursing upon any general Subject, the Ladies never think it their Business to partake in what passes; but, in a separate Club, entertain each other with the Price and Choice of Lace and Silk, and what Dresses they liked, or disapproved at the Church, or the Playhouse. And when you are among yourselves, how naturally, after the first Compliments, do you apply your Hands to each others Lappets, and Ruffles, and Mantuas; as if the whole Business of your Lives, and the publick Concern of the World, depended upon the Cut or Colour of your Petticoats? As Divines say, that some People take more Pains to be damned, than it would cost them to be saved; so your Sex employs more Thought, Memory, and Application to be Fools, than would

serve to make them wise and useful. When I reflect on this, I cannot conceive you to be human Creatures, but a Sort of Species hardly a Degree above a Monkey; who hath more diverting Tricks than any of you; is an Animal less mischievous and expensive; might, in Time, be a tolerable Critick in Velvet and Brocade; and, for ought I know, would equally become them.

I WOULD have you look upon Finery as a necessary Folly, which all great Ladies did whom I have ever known: I do not desire you to be out of the Fashion, but to be the last and least in it: I expect that your Dress shall be one Degree lower than your Fortune can afford: And, in your own Heart, I would wish you to be an utter Contemner of all Distinctions which a finer Petticoat can give you; because, it will neither make you richer, handsomer, younger, better natured, more virtuous, or wise, than if it hung upon a Peg.

IF you are in Company with Men of Learning; although they happen to discourse of Arts and Sciences out of your Compass, yet you will gather more Advantage by listening to them, than from all the Nonsense and Frippery of your own Sex: But, if they be Men of Breeding as well as Learning, they will seldom engage in any Conversation where you ought not to be a Hearer, and in Time have your Part. If they talk of the Manners and Customs of the several Kingdoms of *Europe*; of Travels into remote Nations; of the State of their own Country; or of the great Men and Actions of *Greece* and *Rome*: If they give their Judgment upon *English* and *French* Writers, either in Verse or Prose; or of the Nature and Limits of Virtue and Vice; it is a Shame for an *English* Lady not to relish such Discourses, not to improve by them, and endeavour by Reading and Information, to have her Share in those Entertainments; rather than turn aside, as it is the usual Custom, and consult with the Woman who sits next her, about a new Cargo of Fans.

IT is a little hard, that not one Gentleman's Daughter in a Thousand, should be brought to read, or understand her own Natural Tongue, or be Judge of the easiest Books that are written in it; as any one may find, who can have the Patience to hear them, when they are disposed to mangle a Play or Novel,

where the least Word out of the common Road, is sure to disconcert them; and it is no wonder, when they are not so much as taught to spell in their Childhood, nor can ever attain to it in their whole Lives. I advise you, therefore, to read aloud, more or less, every Day to your Husband, if he will permit you, or to any other Friend, (but not a Female one) who is able to set you right: And as for Spelling, you may compass it in Time, by making Collections from the Books you read.

I KNOW very well, that those who are commonly called learned Women, have lost all Manner of Credit by their impertinent Talkativeness, and Conceit of themselves: But there is an easy Remedy for this; if you once consider, that after all the Pains you may be at, you never can arrive, in Point of Learning, to the Perfection of a School-Boy. But the Reading I would advise you to, is only for Improvement of your own good Sense, which will never fail of being mended by Discretion. It is a wrong Method, and ill Choice of Books, that make those learned Ladies just so much worse for what they have read. And therefore, it shall be my Care to direct you better; a Task for which I take myself to be not ill qualified; because I have spent more Time, and have had more Opportunities than many others, to observe and discover from what Sources the various Follies of Women are derived.

PRAY observe, how insignificant Things are the common Race of Ladies, when they have passed their Youth and Beauty; how contemptible they appear to the Men, and yet more contemptible to the younger Part of their own Sex; and have no Relief but in passing their Afternoons in Visits, where they are never acceptable; and their Evenings at Cards among each other; while the former Part of the Day is spent in Spleen and Envy, or in vain Endeavours to repair by Art and Dress the Ruins of Time: Whereas, I have known Ladies at Sixty, to whom all the polite Part of the Court and Town paid their Addresses; without any further View than that of enjoying the Pleasure of their Conversation.

I AM ignorant of any one Quality that is amiable in a Man, which is not equally so in a Woman: I do not except even

Modesty, and Gentleness of Nature. Nor do I know one Vice or Folly, which is not equally detestable in both. There is, indeed, one Infirmity which is generally allowed you, I mean that of Cowardice. Yet there should seem to be something very capricious, that when Women profess their Admiration for a Colonel or a Captain, on Account of his Valour; they should fancy it a very graceful becoming Quality in themselves, to be afraid of their own Shadows; to scream in a Barge, when the Weather is calmest, or in a Coach at the Ring; to run from a Cow at an Hundred Yards Distance; to fall into Fits at the Sight of a Spider, an Ear-wig, or a Frog. At least, if Cowardice be a Sign of Cruelty, (as it is generally granted) I can hardly think it an Accomplishment so desireable, as to be thought worthy of improving by Affectation.

AND as the same Virtues equally become both Sexes; so there is no Quality whereby Women endeavour to distinguish themselves from Men, for which they are not just so much the worse; except that only of Reservedness; which, however, as you generally manage it, is nothing else but Affectation, or Hypocrisy. For, as you cannot too much discountenance those of our Sex, who presume to take unbecoming Liberties before you; so you ought to be wholly unconstrained in the Company of deserving Men, when you have had sufficient Experience of their Discretion.

THERE is never wanting in this Town, a Tribe of bold, swaggering, rattling Ladies, whose Talents pass among Coxcombs for Wit and Humour: Their Excellency lies in rude choquing Expressions, and what they call *running a Man down*. If a Gentleman in their Company, happen to have any Blemish in his Birth, or Person; if any Misfortune hath befallen his Family, or himself, for which he is ashamed; they will be sure to give him broad Hints of it, without any Provocation. I would recommend you to the Acquaintance of a common Prostitute, rather than to that of such Termagants as these. I have often thought that no Man is obliged to suppose such Creatures to be Women; but to treat them like insolent Rascals, disguised in Female Habits, who ought to be stripped, and kicked down Stairs.

I WILL add one Thing, although it be a little out of Place; which is to desire, that you will learn to value and esteem your Husband, for those good Qualities which he really possesseth; and not to fancy others in him, which he certainly hath not. For, although this latter be generally understood for a Mark of Love, yet it is indeed nothing but Affectation, or ill Judgment. It is true, the Person you have chosen wants so very few Accomplishments, that you are in no great Danger of erring on this Side: But my Caution is occasioned by a Lady of your Acquaintance, married to a very valuable Person, whom yet she is so unfortunate as to be always commending for those Perfections, to which he can least pretend.

I CAN give you no Advice upon the Article of Expence; only, I think, you ought to be well informed how much your Husband's Revenue amounts to, and be so good a Computer, as to keep within it, in that Part of the Management which falls to your Share; and not to put yourself in the Number of those politick Ladies, who think they gain a great Point, when they have teazed their Husbands to buy them a new Equipage, a laced Head, or a fine Petticoat; without once considering what long Scores remain unpaid to the Butcher.

I DESIRE you will keep this Letter in your Cabinet, and often examine impartially your whole Conduct by it: And so GOD bless you, and make you a fair Example to your Sex, and a perpetual Comfort to your Husband, and your Parents. I am, with great Truth and Affection,

MADAM,

Your most faithful Friend,

And humble Servant.

The SERMONS

The SERMONS

ALTHOUGH Swift was Dean of St. Patrick's for thirty years and was in orders for nearly twenty years before that, we know surprisingly little of him as a preacher. Only twelve sermons attributed to him have been printed, and one of these is of doubtful authenticity.[1] This is hardly an adequate representation, even for a clergyman who admitted that he had composed more libels than sermons. Swift's attitude toward his sermons, so far as it has been recorded, was one of casual interest or of indifference, if not outright depreciation. There is nothing to suggest that he desired their publication; and his letters are almost devoid of comment upon his preaching. The little that is said is well exemplified by his disparaging remarks to his friend and successor at Kilroot, John Winder, who discovered sermons Swift had left behind, transcribed them, and wrote to Swift intimating that they would prove useful. In reply Swift warned that 'Those sermons . . . will utterly disgrace you, unless you have so much credit that whatever comes from you will pass. They were what I was firmly resolved to burn, and especially some of them, the idlest trifling stuff that ever was writ. . . .' 'They will be,' he added, 'a perfect lampoon upon me, whenever you look upon them, and remember they are mine.'[2] In the same spirit was his comment to Stella when he was expected to preach before Queen Anne: those who think to hear 'something wonderful,' he declared, will be 'plaguily balked, for I shall preach plain honest stuff.'[3] Such deprecation may be assumed and need not be taken seriously, though its sincerity is supported by comment from Swift's early biographers. The Earl of Orrery, who characterized Swift's sermons as 'the offspring of necessity, not of choice,' wrote that Swift was wholly unconcerned about the fate of his sermons and readily gave a

[1] See below, pp. 103ff.

[2] *Corr.* i, 29.

[3] See the *Journal to Stella*, Dec. 14, 1710.

bundle of them to Dr. Sheridan. 'They were held in such low esteem in his own thoughts, that some years before he died, he gave away the whole collection to Dr. Sheridan, with the utmost indifference: "*Here*, says he, *are a bundle of my old sermons; you may have them if you please: they may be of use to you, they have never been of any to me.*" '[1] If Orrery was correctly informed, there were thirty-five in the bundle. Both Mrs. Pilkington and Dr. Delany attribute to Swift the remark that 'if he did sometimes exert himself in the pulpit, he could never rise higher than *preaching pamphlets*'[2]—a statement that has more than a germ of truth if we judge by the extant sermons.

Yet something may be said on the other side. We need not discount entirely the confession reported by Delany, that Swift 'often owned, that he once had an ambition to excel in his profession, as a preacher. And his penitence, that he had not attained to that excellence (for he never mentioned it without a sigh) may, I think, be justly numbered among the rectitudes, and good dispositions of his heart.'[3] Unhappily, we are told, 'cursed politicks' intervened. But Swift did not neglect his preaching. From both Deane Swift and Dr. Lyon we learn that he preached in his turn and that his sermons were well attended.[4]

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[1] *Remarks on the Life and Writings of Dr. Jonathan Swift*, London, 1752, p. 289. See also the letter written by George Faulkner, Swift's Dublin bookseller, to the Earl of Chesterfield, included by Faulkner in his edition of the *Works*, 1772, xi, 324.

[2] *Memoirs of Mrs. Letitia Pilkington, 1712-1750. Written by Herself*, ed. J. Isaacs, London, 1928, pp. 51-2; and Patrick Delany, *Observations upon Lord Orrery's Remarks on the Life and Writings of Dr. Jonathan Swift*, London, 1754, p. 42.

[3] *Observations*, p. 266; see also pp. 41-2. The probable source of Delany's story was the Rev. John Lyon, the prebendary of St. Patrick's who looked after Swift in his last days. See William Monck Mason, *History and Antiquities of the Collegiate and Cathedral Church of St. Patrick*, Dublin, 1819, p. 420, note w.

[4] Deane Swift, *An Essay upon the Life, Writings, and Character, of Dr. Jonathan Swift*, London, 1755, p. 370; Monck Mason, p. 420, note w.

Delany is responsible for another glimpse of Swift which reveals his strong interest in preaching. The picture is of Swift, pencil and paper in hand, listening critically to the performances of clergymen in the pulpit at St. Patrick's and being ready with his criticism as soon as the preacher came into the chapter house.[1] Nor need we rely wholly on others for evidence of his interest in the composition and delivery of sermons. In two of his own works he expressed himself on the subject. *A Letter to a Young Clergyman* contains his ideas on certain topics commonly treated in works devoted to the *ars prædicandi*; and these views are supplemented by the rather more casual comment on the art of preaching in the sermon *Upon Sleeping in Church*. Thus we have from Swift's own pen what he considered proper and effective in the matter, style, and delivery of sermons. In the light of the foregoing information we may well view with suspicion Swift's slighting remarks and receive cautiously any presumption that he was entirely indifferent to his own sermons.

It is fruitless to speculate on the number of sermons Swift composed in his long clerical career. If he preached in his turn, reportedly every fifth Sunday,[2] the number was indeed great, even with generous allowance for his absences from Dublin. His habit of burning unprinted and little valued writings probably accounts for the disappearance of most of his sermons.[3] We have his own word, in the letter to John Winder, that he had expected to burn those delivered at Kilroot; and there is no reason to doubt his intention to destroy the thirty or more which fell into the hands of Dr. Sheridan, whose presence at the moment frustrated an intention possibly carried out with other sermons on other occasions. Unfortunately, Sheridan failed to arrange for the publication of those in his possession,

[1] *Observations*, p. 206.

[2] See William Monck Mason, *op. cit.*, p. 420, note w.

[3] The Abbotsford Manuscript lists 'Three Sermons in y^e^ Dean's Hand' as being found in Swift's study. Unfortunately they have disappeared. See Harold Williams, *Dean Swift's Library*, Cambridge, 1932, pp. 33, 35.

and the great majority of them have been lost. There is another account—related by George Faulkner, Swift's Dublin bookseller, to the Earl of Chesterfield—of the existence and circulation of eleven sermons. The story originated with Walter Harte, a clergyman and minor author, who told some of his friends that he had read eleven of Swift's sermons and had passed them on to Pope, and that Pope agreed with him as to their excellence. Harte described the sermons as being stitched together and in a black leather case, and added that they were found among Pope's papers at his death, where they were probably seen by Dr. Warburton, Pope's literary executor.[1] If the story is true—Faulkner had it only as hearsay—it raises some questions of interest. Was Swift himself responsible for stitching these sermons and permitting their circulation? Did he think sufficiently well of at least eleven of his sermons to make them available to friends? If he did, his conduct would further qualify the evidence of his indifference. These questions, unfortunately, cannot be answered; nor can another—the question of how many of these are among the sermons that found their way into print.

It is not possible, given the few surviving sermons, more than half of them undated,[2] to trace any growth or development in Swift as a preacher. Furthermore, any judgment of the significance of his sermons, or of his greatness and originality as a preacher, will obviously carry the less weight because it must rest on what is almost certainly a small percentage of those he composed. But if we are safe in assuming that those we do possess fairly represent his abilities, we may make only modest claims for him. The sermons are not by any means without certain of the qualities of his other writings. They have something of his usual energy in expression and of the simplicity and persuasive tone by which he forced conviction on his readers. There are instances in which he expounds a religious idea with characteristic vigour and clarity of mind; and it is easy to believe,

[1] *Works*, Dublin, 1772, XI, 323.

[2] For the dates of the sermons see below, p. 133.

when the merits of some of the sermons are considered, that he was at times impressively effective to his auditors. Still one cannot escape the conclusion that the sermon as a form restrained the full, free flow of his genius and gave little opportunity for those qualities for which we value him most. We must recollect also that Swift had a modest and conservative conception of what preaching should accomplish—'to tell the people what is their duty, and to convince them that it is so,' and to do this without oratory or displays of learning, by 'sober Sense and plain Reason.'[1] What then was better suited to his purpose than the unembellished Christian truths which had stood the test of time, a conservative adherence to simple and indisputable orthodoxy as he conceived it? Thus we need not be surprised to find that he often relies upon the truisms and commonplaces of Christian thought, such as came from countless clergymen of his own and preceding generations. The sermons are therefore less profound and original than they are orthodox and conventional. We observe in them Swift's ready and unabashed use of the heritage of ideas—the traditional counsel, the fixed doctrinal notions, the homiletic wisdom of the ages—that any clergyman had at hand for the edification of his flock; and from this vantage the sermons reveal Swift the divine as he reflects constant and universal elements in Christianity.

The sermons have significance to the student of Swift on another ground. However brief the treatment, his ideas are present extensively; and we can assess the nature of his mind and define his position in the eighteenth century from the sermons as clearly as we can from his other works. For example, in *Upon the Martyrdom of King Charles I* are the lineaments of his political theory. Here, and in other sermons as well, are the basic assumptions about kingship, government, and party that gave a particular bias to his interpretation of events, both historical and current. In *On Brotherly Love* is revealed his unquestioning acceptance of a national church, with its implications concerning toleration and schism in the religious life of the country.

[1] See above, p. 70.

In certain of his other writings deism drew from Swift irony and ridicule but no reasoned statement of the grounds of his opposition. Such a statement is to be found only in the sermon *On the Trinity*. From two of the sermons, *On the Testimony of Conscience* and *Upon the Excellence of Christianity*, he emerges as an apologist for Christianity, the Christian moralist combating contemporary theories of an ethic divorced from religion. His views of charity, of foreign trade, of reason and the passions, of the Revolution of 1688, of England's treatment of Ireland—these and many others have found their way into the sermons, to such an extent that it may be said the sermons represent fairly adequately the range of his opinions. This claim, then, may be made for the sermons—without any pretence that they constitute a major effort—that they orient Swift as a Christian divine in the continuity of Christian thought and at the same time reveal his personal responses, within the homiletic framework, to the ideas and problems of his own day, as clearly as do his other works.

From certain of his utterances we know that Swift reflected on the prevalent theories of the art of preaching and of composing sermons; and we can observe in his practice, particularly in the style and construction of his extant sermons, the influence of these contemporary conceptions. The rhetorical complexities practised by early seventeenth-century divines gradually gave way to simplicity as the century progressed. Lengthy allegorical interpretations of the Scriptures, the excessive number of quotations, analogies and self-conscious imagery, Greek and Latin phrases, 'pert Wit and luscious Eloquence'—the intricate paraphernalia by which the clergymen of that period delivered God's word to their auditors—had all but disappeared from Anglican sermons by Swift's time. The ideal of sacred oratory had become 'plain Notions of simple and genuine Rhetorick.' Of this ideal Swift expressed his approval; and his sermons are simply written and free of complex homiletic devices. He had no 'sermon' style as distinct from his other style. In constructing a sermon no eighteenth-century divine felt constrained to follow the fixed procedure of an earlier age, in which the sermon

was carefully divided into a succession of rigidly prescribed parts, the first part devoted to unfolding the text, the second to dividing the text, the third to drawing the doctrine, and so on through instruction, refutation, reproof, consolation, and exhortation. By the eighteenth century formal construction had yielded to comparative brevity and informality, two qualities in which Swift's sermons are rather more extreme than those of his contemporaries. His usual method was to begin with a brief comment on the text and then to announce the several divisions of the sermon. His concession to conventional practice was to call marked attention to transitions from one division to another and to any subdivisions. Although his sermons have design and logical development, there is no ordering of the material that suggests the succession of expository and rhetorical devices dear to clergymen of the preceding century.

Of the twelve sermons included in eighteenth-century editions of Swift's works and now generally accepted as authentic, one, *The Difficulty of Knowing One's Self*, was from the beginning considered of doubtful authenticity. It was first printed by Dodsley in 1744 or 1745,[1] with the following 'Advertisement' before the text:

> *The Manuscript Title Page of the following Sermon being lost, and no Memorandums writ upon it, as there were upon the others, when and where it was preached, made the Editor doubtful whether he should Print it as the Dean's, or not. But it's being found amongst the same Papers; and the Hand, tho' writ somewhat better, bearing a great Similitude to the Dean's, made him willing to lay it before the Publick, that they might judge whether the Stile and Manner also do not render it still more probable to be his.*

Dodsley's cautious refusal to claim the sermon as Swift's was reflected by Faulkner, who reprinted the 'Advertisement' when he first published the sermon in Volume VIII of the *Works*, 1746. A firmer stand was taken by the Earl of Orrery in 1752. His rejection of the sermon is unqualified: 'I shall take no notice

[1] For a comment on the printing of this sermon see textual notes.

of a fourth sermon, as it is evidently not composed by the Dean.'[1] Since Orrery was using Volume VIII of Faulkner's edition, we may reasonably assume that his doubts were raised by the 'Advertisement' and then possibly confirmed by a reading of the sermon. If he had other and more definite grounds for rejecting Swift's authorship, unfortunately he did not disclose them. Even Delany, eager as he was to repel Orrery's statements, makes a damaging, though qualified, admission. In replying to Orrery's charge that a number of the inclusions in Volume VIII of the *Works* are spurious, he asserted: 'There is not one that pretends to be [Swift's], which is not so; unless perhaps that sermon upon knowing ones self; to which you object; and which, I own, is not equal to the rest. And yet there are some strokes in it, which seem so characteristic to Swift, as make them hardly possible to be mistaken. . . .'[2]

Thus the matter remained until the publication, in 1784, of Thomas Sheridan's edition of the *Works*. Sheridan included the sermon with a note that affirms Swift's authorship and creates a strong presumption of authenticity:

> When I first gave this sermon to be published, I had some doubts whether it were genuine; for, though I found it in the same parcel with three others in the Dean's own hand, and there was a great similitude in the writing, yet as some of the letters were differently cut, and the hand in general much fairer than his, I gave it to the world as dubious. But as some manuscripts of his early poems have since fallen into my hands, transcribed by Stella, I found, upon comparing them, that the writing was exactly the same with that of the sermon; which was therefore copied by her. Swift, in his journal to that lady, takes notice that he had been her writing-master, and that there was such a strong resemblance between their hands, as gave occasion to some of his friends to rally him, upon seeing some of her letters addressed to

[1] *Remarks*, p. 296. [2] *Observations*, p. 252.

him at the bar of the coffee-house, by asking him, how long he had taken up the custom of writing letters to himself?[1]

Whatever claims may be made for Swift's authorship must rest on this note. If, as Sheridan asserts, the sermon was in a parcel with three others by Swift and was indeed in Stella's hand, the case for authenticity is greatly strengthened. What is more, the note is further significant because it confirms Faulkner's statement that Thomas Sheridan arranged for the publication of the first of Swift's sermons.[2] These were the three unquestionably authentic ones which appeared in 1744 under the imprint of Dodsley in London and Faulkner in Dublin. The fourth was *The Difficulty of Knowing One's Self*; and we now learn that it was Sheridan who first questioned Swift's authorship and who was responsible for the 'Advertisement' inserted by Dodsley and reprinted by Faulkner, in which the question of authenticity was left uncertain. The uncertainty of the two booksellers would seem then to be merely derivative, reflecting Sheridan's uncertainty at the time; and with his later conviction that the sermon was by Swift the 'Advertisement' ceases to be of any special value in determining authenticity.

The presumption of authenticity created by Sheridan's note does not allay the suspicion aroused by Orrery's forthright rejection of the sermon and by Delany's qualified agreement. Nor does an examination of the sermon itself persuade one to admit it to the canon. It differs from the other sermons in being more extremely formalized and in using, at the end of each formal division, a sentence of summary which is at the same time grammatically continuous with the opening sentence of the following division. It is perhaps a small point, but a rather striking one, that Swift avoids this conventional device prized by many clergymen of his day, and has without exception in the other sermons come to a full grammatical stop at the end

[1] Vol. X, p. [1]. When the edition prepared for the trade by John Nichols in 1801 was republished in 1803, this note was mistakenly credited to Hawkesworth. Sir Walter Scott repeats the error.

[2] See Faulkner's edition of the *Works*, 1772, XI, 324.

of each formal division. Nor does Swift use a conventionalized run-on device in the other sermons in progressing from paragraph to paragraph. Such a device is used five times in *The Difficulty*. In general the highly self-conscious orderliness and schematism of *The Difficulty* contrast sharply with the apparent but less obtrusive structure of the other sermons. Furthermore the writing is so laboured at times as to suggest an author well below Swift in competence. If he composed this sermon, he did so at a time when he could not summon his characteristic effortlessness and simplicity in expression.

These various considerations cautiously weighed do not permit confident rejection or acceptance of *The Difficulty*. It has therefore been printed in the Appendix as doubtful.

The remaining eleven sermons appear in this volume in the order of their first publication in the eighteenth century, an order which was determined by the haphazard fortunes of the manuscripts.[1] In this order they give no coherent impression of Swift's thinking as a divine or of the close relationship of some of the sermons. I have therefore thought it feasible, for the purpose of giving a more unified impression of the sermons collectively and of showing Swift's mind at work on related themes and problems, to arrange my introductory comments according to the following rough but serviceable classification into which the sermons fall. Three of them, *On the Trinity*, *Upon the Excellence of Christianity*, and *On the Testimony of Conscience*, have affinities in that they are concerned with Christianity in its doctrinal and ethical aspects. Three others, *On Brotherly Love*, *On False Witness*, and *Upon the Martyrdom of King Charles I*, belong in a group by virtue of their political nature. In one way or another they treat problems growing out of dissent and the relation between church and state, or some political aspect of eighteenth-century religion. *On Mutual Subjection* and *On the Poor Man's Contentment* are broadly sociological. In these Swift explores certain problems of social adjustment, and is concerned particularly with charity, wealth,

[1] See textual notes.

and poverty in the Christian scheme of things. *Doing Good* and *Causes of the Wretched Condition of Ireland* derive from internal conditions in Ireland, the result of policies of the English government. Like the Irish tracts, these sermons are studies of Ireland's economic difficulties. *Upon Sleeping in Church* stands alone. It is a denunciation of irreverent behaviour and of the prevalent contempt of preaching, with some added reflections on the nature and delivery of sermons.

On the Trinity, which is Swift's most elaborate statement on Christian doctrine, exhibits clearly the orthodoxy and conventionality of his religious views. The Earl of Orrery praised this sermon as 'one of the best in its kind,'[1] but a contemporary who had read or listened to some conventional Trinity Sunday sermons would have found little in Swift's sermon, either in ideas or phraseology, that had not been utilized often by his fellow-clergymen in their many defences of the Trinity and the other mysteries of Christianity. The immediate background of the sermon is the controversy which occurred in the last decade of the seventeenth century when Anglican divines, in answer to exponents of a Socinian or anti-Trinitarian viewpoint, published elaborate explanations of the Trinity and quarrelled among themselves as to what constituted an orthodox view. The controversy continued with no less violence after the turn of the century, raging with particular bitterness around Dr. Samuel Clarke, whose *The Scripture Doctrine of the Trinity* (1712), denounced as Arian and condemned by the Lower House of Convocation, called forth many answers from divines, each claiming to give the correct exposition of this fundamental doctrine.

Of these controversialists Swift heartily disapproved. He complains of them in *A Letter to a Young Clergyman* and he repeats the complaint in this sermon. An exposition of the

[1] *Remarks*, p. 293. For a more complete analysis of this sermon than I have presented here see my article in the University of Texas *Studies in English, 1944*.

Trinity, or of any of the Christian mysteries, especially in abstruse or philosophical terms, he insisted, contributes nothing to piety and is more likely to perplex the minds of sober Christians. With many of his contemporaries Swift was convinced that subtle speculations and philosophical intricacies violate common sense. Thus he indicts well-meaning but indiscreet divines who engage in controversies involving learned discussions of modes, consubstantiality, and degrees of subordination. He is not more impatient with the anti-Trinitarians than with respectable Anglican clergymen who are 'too curious, or too narrow, in reducing orthodoxy within the compass of subtleties, niceties, and distinctions.'[1] This anti-intellectualism, this sharp indictment of the prying intellect, appeared frequently in eighteenth-century sermons on the Trinity, where divines exhorted their hearers to avoid an 'over-anxious scrutiny' into the mysteries. Typically one of Swift's fellow-clergymen declared: 'We shall better celebrate the Holy Trinity by a profound Silence and Adoration, than by disputing about it, or prying too curiously into the Manner of it.'[2] This in essence is the attitude of Swift, that an inquiry into the incomprehensible divine nature is vain and that a good Christian should accept the Trinity as it is affirmed in Scripture without seeking fuller explanation.

But the sermon is more than a defence of the Trinity. Swift defends the Christian mysteries in general from the challenge of the extreme rationalists, the deists in particular, who denied their credibility when tested by human reason. He centres his attack upon a fundamental deistic contention, that what a man assents to, the objects of faith—especially those doctrines which determine salvation—must be wholly clear and intelligible to his reason, whose function it is to judge of their truth or falsity. As the deist John Toland had maintained in his disturbing *Christianity not Mysterious* (1696), the word

[1] See below, p. 262.

[2] Matthew Hole, *Practical Discourses . . . to be us'd thro-out the Year*, London, 1716, IV, pt. ii, 83.

'mystery' as used in the New Testament is never applied to anything which is inconceivable or which cannot be adequately understood by the ordinary faculties of man. On the contrary, he asserted, when once revealed by the deity a mystery becomes the object of reason, as does any fact in nature. Thus the 'incomprehensible' Trinity or any other doctrine is not to be assented to until human reason makes it comprehensible.[1] Here we have a fundamental opposition between Swift and the deists. For Swift faith is acceptance without necessarily clear comprehension of the doctrine assented to; for the deist, as Toland admitted, '*Faith* is *Knowledge*.'[2]

To Swift and others who opposed the deists it seemed obvious that the deistic reliance on human reason was not justified. In *On the Trinity*, as a corrective to this extreme rationalism, Swift posits a twofold anti-rationalism. On the one hand he indicts reason on psychological grounds, as being under the sway of subrational impulses and inclinations and thus unacceptable as a trustworthy instrument of interpretation. Then, cautious not to reject human reason altogether, he writes 'that every Man is bound to follow the Rules and Directions of that Measure of Reason which God hath given him.' Still, it is *only* a 'Measure of Reason' that man has; the emphasis is on its narrow limits. In this attitude we see the second kind of anti-rationalism that Swift advances, the sceptical position that man's reason operates only in a restricted sphere. The wisest man is confronted by mysteries in the 'commonest Actions of Nature.' Growth in animals and plants and the operation of a loadstone are lesser mysteries that human reason cannot fathom. How can a reason inadequate to comprehend these, Swift asks, be adequate to comprehend divine mysteries? The analogy between natural and supernatural mysteries was used with telling effect in countless sermons and tracts by Swift's contemporaries, eager to deny the deistic claim that clear perception and intelligibility are necessary for religious faith. 'Nature,' wrote

[1] *Christianity not Mysterious*, London, 1696, pp. 41-2, 111.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 145.

William Sherlock, Dean of St. Paul's, 'is as great a Mystery as Revelation, and it is no greater affront to our Understandings, no more against Reason for God to reveal such things to us as our Reason cannot comprehend, than it is to make a whole World, which Reason cannot comprehend.'[1] It was not difficult to expose the illogicality of those who expected full comprehension of religious mysteries in a world where 'there is not the meanest part of Creation, not a Worm, not a Flie, not a very Mite, nor ev'n a spire of Grass, but what is an Overmatch for the Understanding of the greatest Philosopher in the World.'[2] This scepticism which divines used so effectively in defence of the mysteries was widely current, not only in theology of course but in philosophy as well—for example, in Locke's *Essay concerning Human Understanding*, where it is given forcible expression.[3] It is, therefore, not surprising that Swift should have seized upon an attitude so congenial to him for defending the mysteries and as a basis of his protest against the rationalists. 'How little,' he asserts, 'do those who quarrel with Mysteries, know of the commonest Actions of Nature!'

Ultimately Swift's case against the deists in *On the Trinity* rests upon what his age called 'implicit faith'—that is, assent to a doctrine on authority, even though the doctrine is not fully comprehended. In the instance of revealed religion, it was contended, a doctrine deserves acceptance no matter how incomprehensible if it has divine authority. Observe that Swift defines faith as 'a Virtue by which any Thing commanded us by God to believe, appears evident and certain to us, although we do not see, nor can conceive it.' Applying this definition to the Trinity, he declares that we must accept the doctrine as 'in itself uncapable of any Controversy; since God himself hath pronounced the Fact, but wholly concealed the Manner.'

[1] *Sermons Preach'd upon Several Occasions*, London, 1700, pp. 298-9.

[2] See *The Doctrine of the Blessed Trinity Stated and Defended*, London, 1719, p. 17.

[3] See the *Essay*, Bk. II, ch. xxiii, sec. 12; Bk. IV, ch. iii, sec. 22, 29; ch. xi, sec. 8; ch. xvi, sec. 12.

Clearly Swift is affirming the validity of implicit faith in opposition to explicit faith, where assent is given only when reason clearly perceives the nature of the doctrine. The distinction between the two kinds of faith was a fundamental one in the controversy between the deists and their opponents. As we have seen, the deists demanded, to use the phraseology of Anthony Collins, 'the same Perspicuity from God as from Man.'[1] In other words, they believed explicit faith valid but denied the validity of implicit faith. 'To be confident of any thing without conceiving it,' wrote John Toland, 'is no real *Faith* or Perswasion, but a rash Presumption and an obstinate Prejudice.'[2] But Swift denies that explicit faith, depending on clear intelligibility, however desirable, is as a rule attainable, because of the nature of a mystery and the limitations of human reason. He thought implicit faith 'highly reasonable' and the best answer to the rationalistic attack on the mysteries.

Since Swift never attempted a formal or systematic account of his ethical views, we naturally expect his sermons to be the most obvious repository of such views as he held. Two of the surviving sermons, *Upon the Excellence of Christianity* and *On the Testimony of Conscience*, though both are superficial, give some insight into what he thought a proper Christian scheme of morality. The first of these is in the tradition of apologetics that springs from the early Church Fathers who demonstrated the falsity of Greek and Roman ethical views and the truth of Christianity. Although Swift, like his contemporaries, had a profound respect for the classical past, even in those moments when he is according the ancient philosophers the highest praise, as in *A Letter to a Young Clergyman*, he is careful to affirm that their moral precepts are inferior to those in the Gospel.[3] The chief purpose of *Upon the Excellence of Christianity* is to show the superiority of the Christian dispensation to the

[1] *An Essay concerning the Use of Reason in Propositions*, London, 1707, pp. 12 ff.

[2] *Christianity not Mysterious*, p. 132.

[3] See above, p. 73.

philosophical systems of the Greek and Roman thinkers and to answer the challenge to Christian ethics implicit in the high praise frequently accorded the ethical doctrines of these thinkers. Swift particularly had in mind the deists, alluded to as 'some who highly exalt the wisdom of those Gentile sages, thereby obliquely to glance at, and traduce Divine Revelation.' But there were also well-meaning divines who unintentionally served the deistic cause by excessive praise of ancient moral precepts at the expense of Christian principles. One of Swift's contemporaries, in his popular manual on the art of preaching, complained that there are too many divines whose 'Sermons are Moral Harangues generally, and *Tully's Offices* and *Seneca's Epistles* serve them instead of the *Bible*.' 'They are furnished,' he adds, 'with none but Moral Precepts, as if they were preaching at *Old Rome* or *Athens*'—a dangerous procedure because in giving revealed religion a subordinate status it occasioned deism.[1] Against such divines and their practices Swift protests: these are the clergymen who 'Prize *Classicks* more than *Sacred* Writ.' They did not, however, constitute the main danger. That came from the deists, who denied the need of divine revelation. If the ancient philosophers achieved wisdom and virtue by the light of nature or reason, without the example of Christ and the obligations enforced by Christianity, what is the justification of the Christian dispensation? This is the question which the deists raised and which Swift attempts to answer in his sermon.

His procedure is to examine specific ethical doctrines of the philosophers and to show that each is in some manner defective or inferior to its counterpart among Christian doctrines, as well as lacking the divine sanction and universality of the Christian doctrine. In every instance Swift's comments are little more than the well-worn conventional criticisms advanced again and again in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century apologetic literature. Conventional though they are, some of these comments reveal fundamental aspects of Swift's own ethical thought. For

[1] John Edwards, *The Preacher*, 2nd ed., London, 1705, p. 73.

example, his attack upon the old Stoic doctrine of disinterested virtue, the conception that virtue, intrinsically beautiful and noble, is its own reward, reflects his conviction that the doctrine of future judgment is central and indispensable in Christian ethics. To Christian thinkers it had long been apparent that the doctrine of disinterested virtue, admittedly noble, failed to consider the true nature of man, a creature dominated by the inferior appetites and unwilling to forgo the pleasures of the world except under the strongest compulsion. Swift follows the traditional line of argument in contending that for the generality of mankind, only Christianity has provided a really effective incentive to reject vice in favour of virtue—the doctrine of future rewards and punishments; effective because it is sensibly attuned to selfish human nature, its appeal being to man's higher self-interest—his eternal welfare.

Thales, Solon, Aristotle, Stoics, Epicureans—Swift examines them all, to point out their imperfections and to weigh them in the balance with Christianity; and the indictments display his willingness to accept the prevalent clichés and patterns of thought. He is content to make the usual identification of Epicureanism with abandoned sensuality, though unquestionably he was familiar with the attempts of Sir William Temple and others to rehabilitate Epicurus by showing that the philosopher's conception of pleasure was an austere one, not a mere indulgence of the appetites.[1] For Stoicism too he relies on the customary indictments associating it with pride, insensibility, and contempt of life. He levels the usual charge of pride and rejects the Stoic emphasis on the self-sufficiency of man, man as a proud and magnanimous creature far different from the meek and frail one that Christianity recognized. Like his contemporaries he criticizes the lofty sentiments of the Stoics—their fine speeches on constancy and intrepidity, their pretended

[1] See Sir William Temple, *Upon the Gardens of Epicurus*, 1685, *Works*, London, 1731, I, 170 ff. For the many attempts to make Epicurean ethics respectable, see Thomas F. Mayo, *Epicurus in England* (1650-1725), [College Station,] Texas, 1934.

indifference to poverty, grief, death, and the other assaults of fortune—as presenting an impossible way of life and a false conception of human psychology. The Stoic rationalistic ideal, the man without passion, is exposed as being in sharp contrast to the Christian ideal which, however much it condemned the bad passions, still stressed the compassionate nature of man. The Stoic wise man, characterized by an insensibility that ruled out pity, benevolence, and the tender feelings associated with charity, was an obvious target for clergymen exhorting their fellow-men to brotherly love and charity; and Swift marks the difference in the Christian whose religion teaches him to be 'gentle and kind' and full of 'mercy and good works.'

On the Testimony of Conscience, like *Upon the Excellence of Christianity*, also reflects the contemporary tendency to make the doctrine of future rewards and punishments the central doctrine in Christian ethics and to view Christianity as a system of prudential morality, a set of regulations for the well-governing of the passions. But more particularly, in this sermon Swift enters the controversy over the conception of conscience—'a Word extreamly abused by many People.' Passing quickly over the dissenters' plea for liberty of conscience, he devotes himself mainly to an attack upon the heterodox view that conscience functions independently of the laws of God. This view was formulated persuasively in Swift's day by the Earl of Shaftesbury, whose *Characteristics* (1711) profoundly disturbed many readers. That Swift had the distinguished proponent of a '*Scheme of Virtue without Religion*'—the phrase is William Warburton's—specifically in mind as he composed *On the Testimony* is not susceptible of proof, yet there is justification in thinking that the sermon is an oblique answer to Shaftesbury or at least that it was inspired by similarly heterodox conceptions of conscience. In questioning the generally accepted presumption that virtue and religion are 'inseparable companions,' Shaftesbury defined conscience as a natural sense of right and wrong which exists prior to and independently of the idea of God. As he conceived the ethical process, a particular act was intuitively and spontaneously recognized as good or evil by this natural moral sense in man, which in

itself was the ultimate source of the moral distinction, not the decrees or the Will of God, as the more orthodox view maintained.[1] Thus conscience and its judgments, in fact the whole sphere of morality as Shaftesbury conceived it, are independent of theology. Such views seemed to Swift both false and dangerous. For him conscience is no infallible and independently functioning ethical faculty; and virtue is not to be achieved unless the conscience is guided by divine laws. In his own words, 'there is no solid, firm Foundation for Virtue, but on a Conscience which is guided by Religion.' Swift's position is the orthodox one as it is embodied, for example, in Locke's statement that 'the true ground of morality . . . can only be the will and law of a God, who sees men in the dark, has in his hand rewards and punishments, and power enough to call to account the proudest offender.'[2]

Swift's primary concern is then with the attempts to construct an independent or secular ethics. He recognized the danger to Christianity from a '*Scheme of Virtue without Religion*,' from thoughtless men who pretended to follow certain ethical principles that needed no enforcement from religion. He considers and exposes two such principles, 'moral honesty' and 'honour,' lashing out with particular vigour against the men of honour, who made haughty claims that whereas the Christian did good from fear of punishment they themselves did good because they scorned to do ill. 'The religious man fears, the man of honour scorns, to do an ill action.'[3] Berkeley's minute philosopher, the free-thinker Alciphron, who well represents the type, contended that 'Honour is a noble unpolluted source of virtue, without the least mixture of fear, interest, or superstition. It hath all the advantages without the evils which attend religion.'[4] Swift, of course, was not ready to grant that the principle of honour

[1] *Characteristics*, ed. J. M. Robertson, New York, 1900, I, 258 ff.
[2] *Essay*, Bk. I, ch. iii, sec. vi.
[3] *The Guardian*, No. 161.
[4] *The Works of George Berkeley*, ed. A. C. Fraser, Oxford, 1901, II, 121.

effectively obligated men to be virtuous, much less that it could serve as a substitute for religion. He was contemptuous of the whole 'Cant of Honour.' The idealism associated with the code seldom prevailed, as was evident to any observer; and in this sermon he reduces the precepts of honour to the payment of gambling debts and the revenge of an affront by duelling. 'Religion will not endure the Duelling Principle'[1]—so remarked a contemporary clergyman, voicing the sentiments of a legion of his fellow-divines, Swift among them.

Convinced that a defence of the concept of honour was tantamount to a defence of an ethic divorced from Christianity, Swift could not logically allow as valid the distinction, often made in the period, between true and false honour. His objections go deeper. Even if honour produced virtuous men, he still objected that it could not be a 'firm Foundation of Virtue' because it rested the obligation to virtue 'upon the Breath, the Opinion, or the Fancy of the People'—not upon its true foundation, religious principles or the laws of God. In substance, his remarks demonstrate what impressed many in his day, the contradiction between Christian ethics and the code of honour. Bernard Mandeville's ironical comment—'The only thing of weight that can be said against modern Honour is, that it is directly opposite to Religion'[2]—might well have come from Swift. *On the Testimony of Conscience* emphasizes Swift's cynical view of man and his firm conviction that Christianity, particularly the doctrine of future judgment, is indispensable for regulating conduct. In his eyes a secular ethic paid too high a compliment to human nature, falsely grounded as such an ethic must be, on an 'undue Conceit of human Sufficiency.'

Although delivered as sermons, *On Brotherly Love*, *On False Witness*, and *Upon the Martyrdom of King Charles I* are nevertheless party documents, two of them openly and violently so, the other so by implication. *On Brotherly Love* was preached in 1717 and

[1] Jeremy Collier, *Essays upon Several Moral Subjects*, London, 6th ed., 1709, pt. i, p. 143.

[2] *The Fable of the Bees*, ed. F. B. Kaye, Oxford, 1924, I, 221.

On False Witness is almost certainly from the same period, though it can be ascribed no more definitely than to the reign of George I. These two sermons are companion pieces reflecting the bitterness of Swift's existence after his return to Ireland in 1714 to become Dean of St. Patrick's. He had left England low in spirits and unhappy at the prospect of exile in Ireland, where he found a hostile atmosphere little calculated to relieve his feelings. It is obvious from these sermons, as well as from his letters, that he felt keenly the divisions in Irish life and the discomforts of belonging to a party out of power when party feelings were running high. 'The Parliament here,' he wrote to Knightley Chetwode in 1715, 'are as mad as you could desire them; all of different parties are used like Jacobites and dogs. All conversation with different principles is dangerous and troublesome. Honest people get into corners, and are as merry as they can. We are as loyal as our enemies, but they will not allow us to be so.'[1] The spirit of faction soon entered into his relations with Archbishop King[2] and, so he felt, into the affairs of the chapter at the Cathedral, where his powers as a dean were disputed.[3] In the light of his personal situation, it is not surprising that he deplores in *On Brotherly Love* the 'Want of Brotherly Love,' the absence of 'Hospitality and Friendship, all good Correspondence between Mankind.' The personal element in the sermons is also evident in the allusions Swift makes to himself as under suspicion of disaffection to the government; and indeed *On False Witness* is testimony to his strong animus against political informers, then thriving under the auspices of the Whigs returned to power and zealous to punish any disaffected Tory on the slightest evidence. The interception of his mail[4] and the realization that he might easily become a victim of corrupt informers, despite his innocence, left him feeling uneasy and insecure. Unquestionably this state of mind was in part responsible for his devoting an entire sermon to informers —the 'most accursed and prostitute and abandoned race,'

[1] *Corr.* ii, 303-4.
[2] *Corr.* ii, 343, 348-9.
[3] *Corr.* ii, 306.
[4] *Corr.* ii, 282, 292, and *passim.*

he wrote to Pope, 'that God ever permitted to plague mankind.'[1]

But more significantly both *On Brotherly Love* and *On False Witness* rise above merely personal issues. *On Brotherly Love* belongs to the extensive literature of the period dealing with religious toleration. The problems touched on—the status of the established church, comprehension of dissenters, the nature of schism and of toleration—are those that recur again and again in Swift's works; and this sermon is a synthesis of his views. Here, as elsewhere in his attacks on Dissent, he is concerned not with doctrinal differences but with the privileged status of Anglicanism. He had no elaborate theory of the relationship between state and church. Erastian to the extent of affirming that the legislative or supreme power has the right to establish or disestablish a particular sect as the state church, he still denied that the Church of England is '*a perfect Creature of the Civil Power*.' He refused to quibble about the exact status of Anglicanism, contenting himself with a simple legalistic position: since the Anglican Church is established by law, its status is exclusive and incontestable. Thus to Swift the dissenters were properly without civil rights and could be called schismatics, schism being as he viewed it a temporal evil and the schismatics those who opposed themselves to the religion of the state. As for that idealistic hope dear to many contemporary prelates, comprehension of the dissenters within the Church of England, he scorned it as a ruse of restless and ambitious sectaries to entrench themselves in power.

His bitterness carries him beyond reasonable restraint in *On Brotherly Love*, where he charges the dissenters with being the 'principal cause of all that Hatred and Animosity now reigning among us.' They were responsible, he declares, for the cleavage in the Church of England between High and Low Church; and he thinks the Low Churchmen peculiarly susceptible to the subtle endeavours of dissenters striving to improve their position. As he conceives the controversy within the Church, the

[1] *Corr.* iii, 121.

issues centre in the definition of the 'truly moderate Man.' The term 'moderation' had wide currency in tracts and sermons as a description of the policy recommended by Whiggish and Low Church divines in the treatment of the dissenters. It was associated with repeal of the Test Act, comprehension of dissenters within the Church of England, occasional conformity, or with any procedure that was designed to ease the restrictions on nonconformists. Those who opposed such policies were attacked as immoderate men, hot and high-flying. Many sermons were preached on the biblical text, 'Let your moderation be known unto all men' (Phil. iv, 5), in which 'moderation' was defined according to the biases of the clergymen involved. To Tories and High Churchmen, it was a vicious term covering designs dangerous to church and state. Swift had earlier disparaged the term by associating it with Whigs, dissenters, atheists, libertines, 'Despisers of Religion and Revelation in general.'[1] In his sermon he reflects on the uses to which the term has been put and gives his definition of true moderation and of fashionable—*i.e.*, false—moderation. It will be observed that the fashionable pretender to moderation has precisely those qualities Swift attributes in various works to Whigs and Low Churchmen—indifference to religion and to the fate of the established church, contempt for the lower clergy, decriers of the royal prerogative—whereas the 'truly moderate Man' possesses the moderate Tory principles which Swift frequently expounded as those of the true Church-of-England man. No reader will miss the irony in the title of this violent and uncharitable invective against the dissenters.

The disruption of national life by faction is also the theme of *On False Witness*. Characteristically Swift views the practice of bearing witness from a political vantage and, removing it from the sphere of purely personal morality, gives it the status of a national evil. The sermon is topical and has relevance to the state of the nation. Tories swept out of their political employments, members of the University of Dublin expelled for

[1] See Vol. II of this edition, p. 3.

alleged disloyalty, informers busily at work, faction at a high pitch—these and other disrupting factors form the background against which the sermon must be viewed. Swift was, of course, fully aware that his words would be understood as an indictment of the Whigs, though he does not name them. As the party in power it is strongly implied that they are responsible, by virtue of their party intransigence, for the strife-torn nation and for having turned Ireland into a breeding-ground of informers. The Tories, also by implication, assume the rôle of loyal and innocent citizens, perhaps indiscreet at times, who are persecuted by the Whigs and their corrupt informers.

Upon the Martyrdom, another invective against Whigs and dissenters, was preached at St. Patrick's in 1726. It is a January 30th sermon—that is, it was preached on the 'anniversary day of fasting and humiliation' which Parliament at the Restoration had designated by statute (12 Charles II, c. 30) to commemorate the murder of Charles I. The sermons delivered in Anglican pulpits on January 30th from the Restoration to the Revolution of 1688 were usually distinguished by excessive eulogies of the Royal Martyr and incriminations against the nonconformists. Violent in tone and extreme in political philosophy, they expounded divine right, passive obedience, and non-resistance as doctrines of the Church of England and of Christianity. As the passions raised by the Civil War moderated, the sermons grew less vindictive and less uniform in viewpoint, to become in the decades following the Revolution of 1688 a medium for every shade of opinion. Since the January 30th sermon a clergyman preached ordinarily revealed his political complexion, Swift's contemporaries tended to classify a divine as Whig or Tory, Low Churchman or High Churchman, Hanoverian or Jacobite, by the sentiments he delivered on this day.

As an embodiment of Swift's political philosophy, *Upon the Martyrdom* is a reaffirmation of the principles set forth at least as early as 1708 in *The Sentiments of a Church-of-England Man*. The violent emotional tone of the sermon, in contrast to the comparatively mild expression of the same principles in *The Sentiments*, derives partly from the occasion, for which custom sanc-

tioned strong language, but primarily from Swift's hatred of the dissenters, whom he attacks with particular animus at the moment because they were demanding that the January 30th anniversary be abolished. As a matter of fact, from 1690 on there had been persistent censure of the anniversary, not only from the dissenters but from Low Church and Whiggish divines as well, all of whom deplored the passionate fulminations issued from the pulpits of High Churchmen on the day. 'To call *them* Sermons, would be an Affront to Religion,' wrote the anonymous author of *High-Church Politics: or the Abuse of the 30th of January consider'd.*[1] High Churchmen were constrained to answer the criticism and the pleas for Christian forbearance; and many January 30th sermons were devoted to justifying the continuance of the anniversary against the charge that it served only to keep alive animosities among Englishmen and to disunite Protestants. Swift's sermon is such a justification.

Swift does not deliver the excessive eulogy of Charles I to be found in many January 30th sermons or portray the king, as was not uncommon, without personal or political faults; but the indignation and the abundance of epithet heaped on the rebellious Puritans set the character of the king in such relief that he emerges, if not without blemish, with only minor culpability. As might be expected, the interpretation of historical events, such as those that led to the Civil War and the Revolution of 1688, is strongly partisan—the history of the Tory pamphleteers and of such contemporary Tory historians as Clarendon and Echard; and Swift's castigation of the Puritans echoes Samuel Butler and the Royalists of the Restoration. The attack on the Puritans is of secondary importance, serving mainly to identify the dissenters of Swift's day as descendants of the fanatical 'saints,' and heirs to their wicked principles. To those who would abrogate the January 30th anniversary Swift points to the existence in the nation of those dangerous sects 'who profess the same principles in religion and government which those Puritan rebels put in practice.' Those who love the Church of England,

[1] London, 1710, p. 3.

he affirms, must maintain a unified opposition against these sects until they have renounced 'all those wicked opinions upon which their predecessors acted.' *Upon the Martyrdom* is therefore another of Swift's defences of the exclusive position of Anglicanism, the issues involved deriving, as usual with Swift, not from theological differences but wholly from the relationship of religious sects to the state.

The last part of the sermon is a brief synthesis of Swift's political theory—the rationale of his condemnation of the Civil War and of his justification of the Revolution of 1688. The exigent circumstances of the Revolution had forced the Tory Churchmen to realize the dangerous nature of such January 30th political maxims as divine right and non-resistance. The actions of the Catholic James II, using his divinely appointed powers to introduce Catholicism and to threaten the exclusive status of Anglicanism, could hardly be defended as the ordinance of God; and the majority of the clergy hastened to modify or reject the absolutism they had previously defended. There is no better commentary on this reversal in political theory than the January 30th sermons. After 1688 we have the spectacle of the generality of the clergy utilizing January 30th to defend constitutionalism and a theory of limited monarchy as energetically as they had earlier defended divine right and non-resistance. Nevertheless the odium of absolutism inherited from the clergy of the Restoration clung to January 30th in Swift's day; and inevitably throughout the reign of Queen Anne the resurgent proponents of divine right made eloquent use of the Royal Martyr's anniversary for defence of their doctrine. Thus it was that Whig journalists and pamphleteers in the first decades of the eighteenth century could constantly refer to January 30th sermons for proof of their charges that the 'enslaving doctrines' of divine right and non-resistance were Tory and Church doctrines, at the same time that they appropriated for the Whigs a theory of limited and constitutional government.

Upon the Martyrdom is one of Swift's several attempts to rescue the Church and the January 30th anniversary from these charges of absolutism and to identify their principles as those of moderate

Toryism. Earlier, in *The Sentiments* and *The Examiner*, he fought against those who charged 'that the Principles of Loyalty in the Church of *England*, were wholly inconsistent with the Revolution.' To avoid the stigma of divine right, he redefined passive obedience and non-resistance in the true Church manner as requiring complete obedience, not to the king or executive power, as some have mistakenly assumed, but to the legislative, which is the supreme power in the state.[1] In his sermon he reasserts this view and argues that January 30th properly interpreted is in no sense at odds with the Revolution Settlement or with a theory of limited monarchy. Swift's political theory as revealed in *Upon the Martyrdom* is in broad outlines the constitutional doctrine assented to after the Revolution by the majority of Englishmen, the same theory that received classic statement in John Locke's second *Treatise of Government* (1690) and was expounded constantly by both Whigs and Tories, who agreed that James II had broken the compact between ruler and ruled and that the legislative power had validly altered the succession. As a Churchman who accepted this theory and yet commemorated the anniversary of the Royal Martyr, Swift was forced to repel a charge of inconsistency. Was it possible to maintain that a rebellion against a lawful king was heinous in 1641 and justifiable in 1688? Whigs and dissenters constantly denied any basic difference between the Civil War and the Revolution—'the one is *Church* Resistance, and the other is Presbyterian. . . . The Causes of these several Proceedings were much the same: King *Charles* would have set up a *Protestant* Tyranny, and King *James* a *Popish* one: Both were Subverters of the Laws and Constitution.'[2] It was to counteract this attitude that Swift set forth in *Upon the Martyrdom* the constitutional issues involved in the Civil War, 'a horrid rebellion' and invasion of a king's lawful rights, and the Revolution, a

[1] See Vol. II of this edition, p. 16; and *The Examiner*, Nos. 33 and 39.

[2] See *High-Church Politics: or the Abuse of the 30th of January consider'd*, London, 1710, p. 4.

case of justifiable resistance to a king exercising arbitrary and unlawful power.

With *On Mutual Subjection* and *On the Poor Man's Contentment* we are in a wholly different atmosphere. These two sermons reflect less bitterly the clashes and divisions among those who profess Christianity, which is here viewed hopefully as a force for achieving brotherhood and social unity. Society, Swift points out in *On Mutual Subjection*, is hierarchical in its nature, necessarily divided into king and subjects, master and servant, merchant and labourer, rich and poor; yet this temporal inequality is of less importance than the equality of all in the sight of God. Those in inferior stations must serve without repining, but particularly those in superior stations or possessed of greater talents must recognize their responsibility to the less fortunate and to the community as a whole. If the servant is subject to the master, the master is no less subject to the servant. No matter what his rank and talents, man is a necessitous creature in an imperfect state, his insufficiency and impotence great; and from this premise Swift argues that a principle of mutual aid and subjection must prevail throughout the Christian brotherhood. These various sentiments are enforced by biblical texts and precepts and a generous sprinkling of homiletic ideas.

Because Swift wishes to harmonize the existing order and its inequalities, particularly inequalities in wealth, with the traditional teachings of Christianity, he stresses the attitude toward worldly possessions so frequently enunciated by divines in their exhortations to charity—that the possessor is merely a trustee or steward of God's bounty, which is to be dispensed in aiding one's fellow-men. In fact, *On Mutual Subjection* is of special interest because among the surviving sermons it is the only one approximating to the conventional sermons on charity and universal benevolence which clergymen of the day preached as a matter of course. Though Swift avoids the rhetorical fervour and eloquence common in contemporary sermons on the subject, his exhortation is substantially the same as that of numberless clergymen who pleaded for a practical Christianity transcending

selfishness and benefiting all. He differs in one important respect from many Anglican clergymen of his period. There was an increasing tendency in the last decades of the seventeenth century—a tendency which developed strongly in the eighteenth century—to maintain that acts of love and good will rise out of a bias in human nature. It was asserted that man 'has an innate Propension to Beneficence,' a 'natural pity and compassion' which automatically make him act for the welfare of his fellow-men. Particularly in charity sermons this kindly conception of human nature prevailed. In the words of a clergyman whose sermons were familiar to Swift, 'God has implanted in our very Frame and Make, a compassionate Sense . . . so that when we see any of our Fellow-Creatures in Circumstances of Distress, we are naturally, I had almost said, mechanically inclined to be helpful to them.'[1] It was not denied, of course, that bad principles sometimes prevailed, but in sermons on the duty and pleasure of doing good divines preferred to stress, more hopefully, the natural impulses to benevolence.

This kindly and optimistic appraisal of human nature is barely hinted at in Swift's sermon. It is abundantly evident from his other writings that he held to the more cynical view, that man is primarily dominated by pride, self-love, and envy; and thus he would not be tempted to assert that charity springs from a deeply rooted natural benevolence in man. For Swift, as we observe in *On Mutual Subjection*, the impulses to charitable deeds are rather more external. He cites biblical injunctions and precepts concerning charity, and conceives of these as being compelling reasons. That man who would imitate the perfections of his Creator, will do good. Riches, which are not to be considered blessings in themselves, become so when used 'in feeding the Hungry, cloathing the Naked, rewarding worthy Men.' Nor does Swift dwell effusively, as was customary in charity sermons, on the delight that accrues from doing good—'the Deliciousness of that inward Joy and Satisfaction which arises from the con-

[1] Richard Fiddes, *Fifty Two Practical Discourses*, London, 1720, p. 112.

sciousness of doing good.' He makes the point: 'Pleasure and Complacency of mind' will reward the generous spirit; 'a good Christian . . . cannot but take Delight in doing good even to his Enemies.' But this moderated statement is far from the usual eloquence defining the exquisite joy, the 'natural deliciousness,' the 'divine and heavenly pleasure' of doing good.

In *On the Poor Man's Contentment* Swift is similarly concerned to justify, in theological terms, inequalities in the social order, but with the emphasis different from that in *On Mutual Subjection*. In the latter sermon he examines the meaning of wealth and the proper behaviour for a rich man in a Christian society; in *On the Poor Man's Contentment* he explores the meaning of poverty and the proper behaviour for a poor man. Perhaps here more than in his other sermons Swift is content to voice homiletic precepts and truisms unimaginatively. Though he is frank enough to admit that the ascetic strain in Christianity, with its stigma on worldly possessions, is at odds with human desires, he assures the poor that the things of this world are vanity and vexation, and that the rich have in actuality fewer temporal blessings than the poor, as well as a relatively slight prospect of entering the kingdom of God. He assents also to a simple rationalization of inequality which satisfied his contemporaries—'it is agreeable to the Will of God, that there should be a great Variety and Disparity in Men's Conditions; that some should be high and others low; that some should be richer and others poorer.'[1] Like his fellow-clergymen Swift accepted the justice of a society so constructed, and conceived it as a function of his order to explain to those in lower stations the purposes of the Deity in creating what seemed, viewed superficially, to be injustices. In a sense *On the Poor Man's Contentment* has something of the character of a theodicy: it is a justification of the ways of God to the poor. Since his explanation assumes that inequalities are inherent in the divine order, Swift can only suggest to the poor that they

[1] The quotation is from a typical charity sermon, where such sentiments appeared in profusion; see Ofspring Blackall, *The Rules and Measures of Alms-Giving*, London, 1709, p. 7.

must not indict the inscrutable wisdom of God or repine at their lot, that theirs is the kingdom of God, and that above all they are to see that their 'Condition is really happier than most of you imagine.'

It is a logical transition from these two sermons in which Swift considers problems of charity, wealth, and poverty from a purely theological viewpoint, from the vantage of the Christian philosopher, to the sermons in which such matters are considered in economic terms. Inevitably Swift brought Ireland's economic difficulties into the pulpit. Two of the surviving sermons, *Doing Good* and *Causes of the Wretched Condition of Ireland*, may be classified with the various tracts he wrote in behalf of Ireland against England. The first of these is almost certainly the subject of a comment in the Drapier's Sixth Letter:

> I did very lately, as I thought it my Duty, preach to the People under my Inspection, upon the Subject of Mr. *Wood*'s Coin; and although I never heard that my Sermon gave the least Offence, as I am sure none was intended; yet, if it were now printed and published, I cannot say, I would ensure it from the Hands of the common Hang-man; or my own Person from those of a Messenger.[1]

If, as I believe, the reference is to *Doing Good*, Swift preached it between August and October of 1724,[2] when he was busily engaged in issuing his Drapier's letters against the patent granted to William Wood in 1722 for coining halfpence and farthings for Ireland. Swift's part in the controversy over the patent is set forth in the Introduction to Volume X of this edition, to which

[1] Vol. X of this edition, p. 109. Did Swift preach another sermon against Wood's patent? The none too reliable Mrs. Pilkington reports the following unconvincing conversation with Swift: ' "I never," says he, "preached but twice in my life, and then they were not sermons, but pamphlets." I asked him: "What might be the subject of them": he told me: "They were against Wood's halfpence." ' See *The Memoirs of Mrs. Letitia Pilkington, 1712-1750*, ed. J. Isaacs, London, 1928, pp. 51-2.

[2] See the discussion of the date, p. 134 below.

the reader is referred for the circumstances that inspired this sermon.[1] *Doing Good* adds nothing to *The Drapier's Letters*, which it parallels in using violent language against Wood and in pleading with the Irish people to unite in a boycott of the coinage. Whatever interest attaches to the sermon rises out of the spectacle of Swift's taking this burning controversial issue into the pulpit.

Whereas *Doing Good* is limited to a single incident in Irish economic and political history, *Causes of the Wretched Condition of Ireland* is extensive in scope, being a condensed statement of views which Swift treated more elaborately in the Irish tracts. Like those tracts, this sermon should be seen as part of his persistent campaign against the old colonial policy applied to Ireland by the English, a policy the English could justify by reference to the mercantilist assumption that a colony exists for the economic profit of the mother country. To counteract this view Swift denied the colonial and dependent status of Ireland, and insisted that the Irish people are fellow-subjects being denied their 'common Rights and Privileges' by force. The sermon is a catalogue of complaints and indictments. His first indictment is of the absentees, who more than any other group were held responsible by contemporary Irishmen for the nation's disrupted economy. The absentees, wrote Thomas Prior in 1729, expressing the general sentiment, are 'the principal *Source* of all our Misfortunes, and the chief *Cause* of all this distress.'[2] With this attitude Swift heartily agreed, and he joined with other public-spirited Irishmen in calling attention to the dire economic and social consequences from the drain on the nation's resources in money and talents.

Swift reiterates here the plea he made so often to the Irish people, that they themselves take a fundamental step toward a

[1] For a fuller treatment of the controversy see *The Drapier's Letters to the People of Ireland*, ed. Herbert Davis, Oxford, 1935.

[2] *A List of the Absentees of Ireland . . . with Observations on the Present Trade and Condition of that Kingdom*, 2nd ed. corrected, London, 1730, p. 20.

sounder economy by reducing the importation of foreign goods. He was particularly disturbed by the folly of a poor nation spending its small substance on imported luxuries, and thus he made his desperate appeal to the Irish to use native goods. There can be no doubt that Swift was impressed by the basic principle of mercantilist economics, that a nation's welfare depends on reducing importations at least sufficiently to maintain a favourable balance of trade.[1] But perhaps his greatest bitterness is reserved for the 'cruel, oppressing, covetous Landlords,' who in a country not self-sustaining in foodstuffs and subject to recurring famines, generally followed a policy of reducing the amount of land under cultivation. This policy, Swift charges, keeps farmers and cottagers impoverished and further disrupts the economy of the nation by forcing numberless families to become thieves and beggars or to emigrate to the colonies. His concern at what he conceived to be the disastrous unpeopling of Ireland by emigration is understandable in the light of contemporary economic theory, which stressed the desirability of large populations and viewed each person as a unit of potential wealth to the nation.[2]

The sermon is of more than passing interest because it reveals Swift's attitude toward the charity-school movement which flourished in England and Ireland in the opening years of the eighteenth century. He himself participated actively in organized charity[3]—a fact which has been somewhat obscured by the

[1] For an account of Swift's economic views see Louis A. Landa, 'Swift's Economic Views and Mercantilism', *ELH, A Journal of English History*, X (1943), 310-35.

[2] For conflicting views on Swift's attitude towards population and emigration see Louis A. Landa, '*A Modest Proposal* and Populousness', *Modern Philology*, XL (1942), 161-70, and George Wittkowsky, 'Swift's *Modest Proposal*: the Biography of an Early Georgian Pamphlet,' *Journal of the History of Ideas*, IV (1943), 75-104.

[3] Swift was a member of the Board of the Dublin Workhouse and Foundling Society, a charter member of the Incorporated Society in Dublin for Promoting English Protestant Schools in Ireland, a member of the Board of the Blue Coat School. He also actively assisted in founding a charity school in the precincts of St. Patrick's.

prominence given the stories of his eccentric individualism in dispensing charity. As a matter of course he was interested in methods, curricula, and accomplishments of the charity schools. By the time this sermon was preached the schools had been severely criticized, among other reasons, for failing in their intention to supply the nation with cheap labour for trade, agriculture, and household services. They had instead, the critics contended, over-educated the charity students and made them unfit for menial work. With this criticism Swift agrees; and as a sympathizer who thinks the charity schools can be of great social and economic value, he pleads for the adoption of a simplified and rudimentary curriculum devoted to such fundamentals as reading, writing, and casting of accounts. This training would provide the charity-school students with an education sufficient for their purposes and at the same time prevent them from causing economic dislocation in the better trades by competing with the sons of respectable and self-supporting citizens. In Swift's attitude toward these schools, and in his discussion of the deserving and undeserving poor at the close of the sermon, one recognizes the humanitarianism characteristic of his age, a spirit genuinely concerned to relieve distressed humanity, yet free of sentimentality and not unmindful that charity properly dispensed had economic advantages.

The sermon *Upon Sleeping in Church* offers evidence that Swift thought seriously on the problems of the clerical order. It is not merely an attack, as the title might suggest, upon the culpable for inattention and irreverence in church; it is also a consideration of certain difficulties confronting clergymen, and particularly a defence of preachers and preaching against unreasonable criticism. Four decades after publication, John Echard's violent tract, *The Grounds and Occasions of the Contempt of the Clergy and Religion Enquired Into* (1670), with its severe strictures on the clergy for bringing themselves and religion into contempt, was still being read and referred to bitterly. Echard had made 'the contempt of the clergy' a stock phrase; and the topic was one on which clergymen of every persuasion showed themselves resentful in tracts and sermons. In Swift's works the 'contempt of the

clergy' is a recurring theme. One finds many utterances in the vein of his random comment: 'I never saw, heard, nor read, that the clergy were beloved in any nation where Christianity was the religion of the country.'[1] In the light of this attitude *Upon Sleeping in Church* is to be read and understood. Swift felt keenly the discrepancy between the dignity of the clerical profession and the inferior social and economic status of the lower clergy. It is true that he enjoyed charging the Whigs with 'Contempt for the very Order of the Priesthood'; but his resentment also transcended partisanship and was directed against 'the Humour of the Age, in delighting to fling Scandals upon the Clergy in general.'[2]

From this sermon we learn something of Swift's views on the art of preaching and the nature of sermons. Although his statements are cursory, they supplement similar expressions in *A Letter to a Young Clergyman*, where he approves the generally accepted theory of his day, that a plain and unadorned style is best in sermons. His remarks on the virtues of simplicity are part of a campaign that had more relevance in the first half of the seventeenth century, when sermons were commonly composed in a self-conscious and highly organized rhetorical style. By the middle of the century the ideal of plainness in sacred oratory had found influential support; and from that time Anglican clergymen were increasingly in agreement that the style of sermons 'must be plain and natural, not being darkened with the affectation of *Scholastical* harshness, or *Rhetorical* flourishes.'[3] When Swift began his career as a preacher, it was already a commonplace to insist that the best eloquence is in plainness, and that 'it becomes not the Divine Orator to study to be Florid and Nitid, to trick up his Discourse in a Modish Dress and Garniture.'[4]

This trend towards simplicity in sermons and against the 'luxuriant strain in Rhetorick' was, of course, merely part of a

[1] See below, p. 262. [2] See Vol. II of this edition, p. 9.

[3] John Wilkins, *Ecclesiastes: or, A Discourse concerning the Gift of Preaching, as it falls under the Rules of Art*, London, 1669 ed., p. 199.

[4] John Edwards, *The Preacher*, 2nd ed., London, 1705, p. 233.

more complex movement in which the ideals of science and popular journalism, as well as other influences, were at work reforming prose style in general. In the sphere of religion flights of rhetoric had come to be associated, to use Swift's words, with 'the preachers and hearers of the fanatic or enthusiastic strain.' Such eloquence, he asserted, is designed to move the passions, whereas the Christian orator should make his appeal by 'sober Sense and plain Reason.' Obviously, in common with other Anglican divines of his day, Swift wished to distinguish Anglican pulpit oratory from the emotionalism often practised by dissenting clergymen. What he thought of the fervent and ranting eloquence of preachers of the 'enthusiastic strain' is well known from *A Tale of a Tub*. The theory of sacred oratory that he approved has a strong rationalistic colouring. It held that bare speech appeals to the judgment and rhetoric to the affections, and that actions influenced by the judgment are more trustworthy than actions influenced by the affections. Thus Swift warns clergymen to 'beware of letting the pathetic part swallow up the rational.' The rationalistic ideal was also at the basis of those recurring attacks upon clergymen who made religion a 'fantastick and unintelligible thing,' a viewpoint reflected in this sermon by Swift's reference to a divine who 'runs up into unintelligible Speculation, empty Notions, and abstracted Flights, all clad in Words above usual Understandings.'

The DATES OF THE SERMONS

Sermon	*Composed or Preached*	*Date of Publication*
On Mutual Subjection	?	1744
On the Testimony of Conscience	?	1744
On the Trinity	?	1744
On Brotherly Love	December 1, 1717	1754
On False Witness	Reign of George I	1762
On the Poor Man's Contentment	?	1762
Causes of the Wretched Condition of Ireland	After 1715; probably after 1720	1762
Upon Sleeping in Church	?	1762
Doing Good	Between August 4 and October 26, 1724	1765
Upon the Martyrdom of King Charles I	January 30, 1725/6	1765
Upon the Excellence of Christianity	?	1765

It may be presumed that Swift customarily dated his sermons, a presumption confirmed by the dates affixed to three when they were first published and by an advertisement of three others inserted by Dodsley, the London bookseller, in the *London Evening-Post* of November 17-20, 1744. The last line of the advertisement reads: 'N.B. The Originals may be seen at Mr. Dodsley's in the Dean's own Hand, with the Dates when and where they were preach'd.' Nevertheless exact dates—that is, the day Swift preached the sermons—have come down to us for only two, *Brotherly Love* and *Upon the Martyrdom*. For a third sermon, *Doing Good*, we know definitely the year of its composition, but internal and external evidence combine to reduce this to a period of three months within which Swift preached it. For two sermons, *Causes of the Wretched Condition of Ireland* and *On*

False Witness, we may hazard an approximate or general date from topical allusions and the nature of the contents. The remaining sermons cannot be dated.

The title-pages of both the Dublin and London editions of *Brotherly Love*, first published in 1754, inform us that the sermon was preached on December 1, 1717, at St. Patrick's. The date November 29, 1717, is printed at the end of the text. We have verification from Swift's own manuscript, now in Trinity College Library, Dublin, MS. 1,050, I. 4. 7 (see Harold Williams, *Dean Swift's Library*, p. 35), that November 29 is the date Swift finished composing the sermon and that he preached it two days later.

Upon the Martyrdom of King Charles I has the subheading, 'Preached at St. Patrick's, Dublin, January 30, 1725/6, being Sunday.' It is of interest—if the subheading is trustworthy—to find Swift preaching a January 30th sermon on a Sunday, and in so doing violating one provision of the parliamentary Act (12 Charles II, c. 30) which created January 30 as a day of commemoration for the Royal Martyr. A clause in the statute provided that when January 30 fell on the Lord's day the anniversary be observed on the following day. (See Danby Pickering, *The Statutes at Large*, Cambridge, 1763, VII, 492.) So far as I have been able to discover, this provision appears to have been rigidly adhered to.

The date of *Doing Good* is given in its subheading, which reads: 'A Sermon, On the Occasion of Wood's Project. Written in the Year MDCCXXIV.' The evidence indicates that it was composed and preached some time between August and October of that year. Swift refers in the sermon to Wood's project as being 'forwarded by one of these false accusers, who had been convicted of endeavouring, by perjury and subornation, to take away the lives of several innocent persons here among us.' The allusion is to John Browne of the Neale, County Mayo, whose arrest and prosecution were ordered by the Irish House of Commons in November, 1723. (See William Monck Mason, *The History and Antiquities of the Collegiate Church of St. Patrick, near Dublin, &c.*, Dublin, 1819, Note C, p. xciv; *The Drapier's*

Letters, ed. Herbert Davis, Oxford, 1935, p. 226.) Browne fled to England, where he appeared as one of Wood's witnesses before the Committee of the Privy Council on July 24, 1724. (See the excerpt from the *Post-Boy*, printed by Herbert Davis in his edition of *The Drapier's Letters*, p. 202.) Swift learned of this testimony, according to his statement in the opening paragraph of the Drapier's Second Letter, when he read an account of the meeting of the Committee in Harding's *Weekly News-Letter* of August 1. He did not, however, see the full report issued by the Committee, dated July 24, until August 18, as he tells us in the Drapier's Third Letter. The earliest possible date for the composition of *Doing Good* depends on Swift's discovery that Browne was among Wood's witnesses. Browne is mentioned by name in the Drapier's Third Letter, written between August 18, the day Swift received the full report of the Committee of the Council, and August 25. Swift, therefore, knew definitely by the third week in August that Browne had been examined by the Committee. But it is also possible that Swift knew Browne to be one of Wood's witnesses by August 4, 1724, the day he completed the Drapier's Second Letter. In this Letter Swift refers, without giving names, to the '*Merchants and Traders*' who testified for Wood as 'only a few Betrayers of their Country, Confederates with *Woods*.' The failure to name these 'Betrayers' in the Second Letter, as is done in the Third Letter, suggests that Swift may not have had full details, including the names, at the moment. But of this we cannot be certain. It is entirely possible that Swift knew the individuals concerned when he made the general allusion in the Second Letter to 'a few Betrayers of their Country.' We must, therefore, accept the first week in August, the date of the Drapier's Second Letter, as the inferior date of *Doing Good*. The other terminal date is established by an allusion to a sermon in the Drapier's Sixth Letter, October 26, 1724: 'I did very lately, as I thought it my Duty, preach to the People under my Inspection, upon the Subject of Mr. *Wood*'s Coin. . . .' It is, of course, possible that Swift's allusion is to a sermon now lost on the same subject as *Doing Good* (see above, Introduction, p. 127, note), but the possibility is sufficiently remote that we

may accept *Doing Good* with reasonable certainty as the sermon referred to as having been preached by October 26. The two dates, August 4 and October 26, are then the dates between which Swift composed and preached *Doing Good*.

Causes of the Wretched Condition of Ireland was composed in 1715 or later, as is indicated by Swift's reference to a 'late law' which encouraged the apprenticing of charity children to the families of gentlemen. The law alluded to was passed by the Irish Parliament in 1715 (2 George I, c. 17). The nature of this sermon—Swift appears to be merely summarizing in the first part of it those causes of Ireland's poverty he treated more elaborately in the various Irish tracts—suggests that it came in the decade following 1720 or even later, the period of the Irish tracts. His criticism of the charity schools also suggests a date later than 1720. The widespread enthusiasm for charity schools between 1710 and 1720 tended to restrict criticism; but after 1720, and particularly after 1723, vigorous criticism came both from within and without the charity-school movement. Swift repeats some of the criticisms and calls for some of the commonly demanded reforms. The strongest evidence points to the period 1724 or 1725, when the beggars of Dublin were being ordered to wear parish badges (see Sir W[illiam] F[ownes], *Methods proposed for regulating the Poor, supporting of Some and employing Others*, Dublin, 1725, sig. A2). For this practice Swift had some responsibility. That he was concerned with the plan and its enforcement at this time is evident from a letter of Sept., 1726 (see *Works*, ed. T. Scott, VII, 326, note 2), whose contents closely parallel his remarks in this sermon about the refusal of beggars to wear the badges and his plea for effective enforcement. It is then almost a certainty that the sermon came not earlier than 1724 or 1725 (there may have been sporadic badging earlier; see *The Ulster Journal of Archæology*, VIII, 1860, 232; and Sir W. Wilde, *The Descriptive Catalogue of the Antiquarian Collection in the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy*, Dublin, 1861, pp. 640-1); and we must admit the possibility of a date at least as late as 1737, when Swift was still preoccupied with the practice of badging beggars (*Works*, ed. T. Scott, VII, 326 ff.).

Of *On False Witness* all that we can say definitely is that it belongs to the reign of George I. Faulkner's footnote in his first printing of this sermon in 1762 identifies the king to whom Swift alludes as George I. The contents of the sermon so strongly suggest Swift's experiences and reactions in those first years after his return to Ireland to become Dean of St. Patrick's that I believe it may safely be placed close in time to *Brotherly Love* (1717).

Not even approximate dates can be arrived at for the remaining sermons. As already mentioned, Dodsley advertised in the *London Evening-Post* of November 17-20, 1744, his possession of three manuscript sermons in Swift's hand showing 'the Dates when and where they were preach'd.' He obviously thought such information of sufficient importance to warrant mention in the advertisement, but unfortunately he did not include it in the printed work. As a result we do not have dates for the three sermons concerned, *On Mutual Subjection*, *On the Testimony of Conscience*, and *On the Trinity*. These and the remaining undated sermons are of a non-topical nature. There are no clues to dates in their contents, in Swift's correspondence, or in his other works. It cannot be said with any assurance that they were composed or preached when Swift was Dean of St. Patrick's.

THREE
SERMONS:

I. On Mutual Subjection.

II. On Conscience.

III. On the Trinity.

By the Reverend Dr. SWIFT,
Dean of St. Patrick's.

LONDON:

Printed for R. Dodsley in *Pall-Mall*:
And Sold by M. Cooper in *Pater-noſter-Row*. 1744.

[*Price* 1 *s.* 6 *d.*]

ON
Mutual SUBJECTION.

1 St. PETER V. 5.

—Yea, all of you be subject one to another.

THE Apostle having in many Parts of this Epistle given Directions to Christians concerning the Duty of Subjection or Obedience to Superiors; in the several Instances of the Subject to his Prince, the Child to his Parent, the Servant to his Master, the Wife to her Husband, and the Younger to the Elder; doth here, in the Words of the Text, sum up the whole, by advancing a Point of Doctrine, which at first may appear a little extraordinary; *Yea, all of you*, saith he, *be subject one to another*. For, it should seem, that two Persons cannot properly be said to be subject to each other, and that Subjection is only due from Inferiors to those above them: Yet Saint *Paul* hath several Passages to the same Purpose. For he exhorts the *Romans*, *in Honour to prefer one another*; and the *Philippians*, that *in Lowlinesss of Mind they should let each esteem other better than themselves*; and the *Ephesians*, that they should *submit themselves one to another in the Fear of the Lord*. Here we find these two great Apostles recommending to all Christians this Duty of mutual Subjection. For we may observe by Saint *Peter*, that having mentioned the several Relations which Men bear to each other, as Governor and Subject, Master and Servant, and the rest which I have already repeated, he maketh no Exception, but summs up the whole with commanding *All to be subject one to another*. From whence we may conclude, that this Subjection due from all Men to all Men, is something more than the Compliment of Course, when our Betters are pleased to tell us they are our humble Servants, but understand us to be their Slaves.

Rom. xii. 10.
Philip. ii. 3.
Ephes. v. 21.

I know very well, that some of those who explain this Text, apply it to Humility, to the Duties of Charity, to private Exhortations, and to bearing with each other's Infirmities: And, it is probable, the Apostle may have had a Regard to all these: But however, many learned Men agree, that there is something more understood, and so the Words in their plain natural Meaning must import; as you will observe yourselves, if you read them with the beginning of the Verse, which is thus: *Likewise ye Younger submit yourselves unto the Elder; yea, all of you be subject one to another.* So, that upon the whole, there must be some kind of Subjection due from every Man to every Man, which cannot be made void by any Power, Præ-eminence, or Authority whatever. Now, what sort of Subjection this is, and how it ought to be paid, shall be the Subject of my present Discourse.

As God hath contrived all the Works of Nature to be useful, and in some manner a Support to each other, by which the whole Frame of the World under his Providence is preserved and kept up; so, among Mankind, our particular Stations are appointed to each of us by God Almighty, wherein we are obliged to act, as far as our Power reacheth, towards the Good of the whole Community. And he who doth not perform that Part assigned him towards advancing the Benefit of the Whole, in proportion to his Opportunities and Abilities, is not only a useless, but a very mischievous Member of the Publick: Because he taketh his Share of the Profit, and yet leaveth his Share of the Burden to be borne by others, which is the true principal Cause of most Miseries and Misfortunes in Life. For, a wise Man who doth not assist with his Counsels, a great Man with his Protection, a rich Man with his Bounty and Charity, and a poor Man with his Labour, are perfect Nusances in a Commonwealth. Neither is any Condition of Life more honourable in the Sight of God than another; otherwise he would be a Respecter of Persons, which he assureth us he is not: For he hath proposed the same Salvation to all Men, and hath only placed them in different Ways or Stations to work it out. Princes are born with no more Advantages of Strength or Wisdom than other Men; and, by an unhappy Education, are usually more defective in both than thou-

sands of their Subjects. They depend for every Necessary of Life upon the meanest of their People: Besides, Obedience and Subjection were never enjoined by God to humour the Passions, Lusts, and Vanities of those who demand them from us; but we are commanded to obey our Governors, because Disobedience would breed Seditions in the State. Thus, Servants are directed to obey their Masters, Children their Parents, and Wives their Husbands; not from any Respect of Persons in God, but because otherwise there would be nothing but Confusion in private Families. This Matter will be clearly explained, by considering the Comparison which St. *Paul* maketh between the Church of Christ and the natural Body of Man: For the same Resemblance will hold, not only to Families and Kingdoms, but to the whole Corporation of Mankind. *The Eye*, saith he, *cannot say unto the Hand, I have no need of thee; nor again the Hand to the Foot, I have no need of thee. Nay, much more, those Members of the Body which seem to be more feeble, are necessary. And whether one Member suffer, all the Members suffer with it; or one Member be honoured, all the Members rejoice with it.* The Case is directly the same among Mankind. The Prince cannot say to the Merchant, I have no need of thee; nor the Merchant to the Labourer, I have no need of thee. Nay, much more those Members, *&c.* For the Poor are generally more necessary Members of the Commonwealth than the Rich: Which clearly shews, that God never intended such Possessions for the Sake and Service of those to whom he lends them: But because he hath assigned every Man his particular Station to be useful in Life; and this for the Reason given by the Apostle, *that there may be no Schism in the Body.*

Rom. xii. 21. c. 23, 26.

From hence may partly be gathered the Nature of that Subjection which we all owe to one another. God Almighty hath been pleased to put us into an imperfect State, where we have perpetual Occasion of each other's Assistance. There is none so low, as not to be in a Capacity of assisting the Highest; nor so high, as not to want the Assistance of the Lowest.

It plainly appears from what hath been said, that no one human Creature is more worthy than another in the sight of

God; farther, than according to the Goodness or Holiness of their Lives; and, that Power, Wealth, and the like outward Advantages, are so far from being the Marks of God's approving or preferring those on whom they are bestowed, that, on the contrary, he is pleased to suffer them to be almost engrossed by those who have least Title to his Favour. Now, according to this Equality wherein God hath placed all Mankind, with relation to himself, you will observe, that in all the Relations between Man and Man, there is a mutual Dependence, whereby the one cannot subsist without the other. Thus, no Man can be a Prince without Subjects, nor a Master without Servants, nor a Father without Children. And this both explains and confirms the Doctrine of the Text: for, where there is a mutual Dependence, there must be a mutual Duty, and consequently a mutual Subjection. For Instance, the Subject must obey his Prince, because God commands it, human Laws require it, and the Safety of the Publick maketh it necessary. (For the same Reasons we must obey all that are in Authority, and submit our selves, not only to the Good and Gentle, but also to the Froward, whether they rule according to our Liking or no.) On the other Side, in those Countries that pretend to Freedom, Princes are subject to those Laws which their People have chosen; they are bound to protect their Subjects in Liberty, Property, and Religion; to receive their Petitions, and redress their Grievances: So, that the best Prince is, in the Opinion of wise Men, only the greatest Servant of the Nation; not only a Servant to the Publick in general, but in some sort to every Man in it. In the like manner, a Servant owes Obedience, and Diligence, and Faithfulness to his Master, from whom at the same time he hath a just Demand for Protection, and Maintenance, and gentle Treatment. Nay, even the poor Beggar hath a just Demand of an Alms from the Rich Man, who is guilty of Fraud, Injustice, and Oppression, if he doth not afford Relief according to his Abilities.

But this Subjection we all owe one another is no where more necessary, than in the common Conversations of Life; for without it there could be no Society among Men. If the Learned would not sometimes submit to the Ignorant, the Wise to the

Simple, the Gentle to the Froward, the Old to the Weaknesses of the Young, there would be nothing but everlasting Variance in the World. This our Saviour himself confirmed by his own Example; for he appeared in the Form of a Servant, and washed his Disciples Feet, adding those memorable Words, *Ye call me Lord and Master, and ye say well, for so I am. If I then your Lord and Master wash your Feet, how much more ought ye to wash one another's Feet?* Under which Expression of washing the Feet, is included all that Subjection, Assistance, Love, and Duty, which every good Christian ought to pay his Brother, in whatever Station God hath placed him. For the greatest Prince and the meanest Slave, are not by infinite Degrees so distant, as our Saviour and those Disciples whose Feet he vouchsafed to wash.

And, although this Doctrine of subjecting ourselves to one another may seem to grate upon the Pride and Vanity of Mankind, and may therefore be hard to be digested by those who value themselves upon their Greatness or their Wealth; yet, is it really no more than what most Men practise upon other Occasions. For, if our Neighbour who is our Inferior comes to see us, we rise to receive him, we place him above us, and respect him as if he were better than ourselves; and this is thought both decent and necessary, and is usually called Good Manners. Now the Duty required by the Apostle, is, only that we should enlarge our Minds, and that what we thus practise in the common Course of Life, we should imitate in all our Actions and Proceedings whatever; since our Saviour tells us, that every Man is our Neighbour, and since we are so ready in the Point of Civility, to yield to others in our own Houses, where only we have any Title to govern.

Having thus shewn you what sort of Subjection it is which all Men owe one another, and in what Manner it ought to be paid, I shall now draw some Observations from what hath been said.

And *First;* A thorough Practice of this Duty of subjecting ourselves to the Wants and Infirmities of each other, would utterly extinguish in us the Vice of Pride. For, if God hath pleased to entrust me with a Talent, not for my own Sake, but

for the Service of others, and at the same time hath left me full of Wants and Necessities which others must supply; I can then have no Cause to set any extraordinary Value upon myself, or to despise my Brother, because he hath not the same Talents which were lent to me. His Being may probably be as useful to the Publick as mine; and therefore, by the Rule of right Reason, I am in no sort preferable to him.

Secondly; It is very manifest from what hath been said, that no Man ought to look upon the Advantages of Life, such as Riches, Honour, Power, and the like, as his Property, but merely as a Trust, which God hath deposited with him, to be employed for the Use of his Brethren; and God will certainly punish the Breach of that Trust, although the Laws of Man will not, or rather indeed cannot; because the Trust was conferred only by God, who hath not left it to any Power on Earth to decide infallibly, whether a Man maketh a good Use of his Talents or no, or to punish him where he fails. And therefore God seems to have more particularly taken this Matter into his own Hands, and will most certainly reward or punish us in proportion to our good or ill Performance in it. Now, although the Advantages which one Man possesseth more than another, may in some Sense be called his Property with respect to other Men, yet with respect to God they are, as I said, only a Trust: Which will plainly appear from hence. If a Man doth not use those Advantages to the Good of the Publick, or the Benefit of his Neighbour, it is certain he doth not deserve them; and consequently, that God never intended them for a Blessing to him; and on the other Side, whoever doth employ his Talents as he ought, will find by his own Experience, that they were chiefly lent him for the Service of others: for to the Service of others he will certainly employ them.

Thirdly; If we could all be brought to practise this Duty of subjecting ourselves to each other, it would very much contribute to the general Happiness of Mankind: For this would root out Envy and Malice from the Heart of Man; because you cannot envy your Neighbour's Strength, if he maketh use of it to defend your Life, or carry your Burden; you cannot envy his

Wisdom, if he gives you good Counsel; nor his Riches, if he supplieth you in your Wants; nor his Greatness, if he employs it to your Protection. The Miseries of Life are not properly owing to the unequal Distribution of Things; but God Almighty, the great King of Heaven, is treated like the Kings of the Earth; who, although perhaps intending well themselves, have often most abominable Ministers and Stewards, and those generally the vilest, to whom they entrust the most Talents. But here is the Difference, that the Princes of this World see by other Men's Eyes, but God sees all Things; and therefore whenever he permitteth his Blessings to be dealt among those who are unworthy, we may certainly conclude, that he intends them as a Punishment to an evil World, as well as to the Owners. It were well, if those would consider this, whose Riches serve them only as a Spur to Avarice, or as an Instrument to their Lusts; whose Wisdom is only of this World, to put false Colours upon Things, to call Good Evil, and Evil Good, against the Conviction of their own Consciences; and lastly, who employ their Power and Favour in Acts of Oppression or Injustice, in misrepresenting Persons and Things, or in countenancing the Wicked to the Ruin of the Innocent.

Fourthly; The Practice of this Duty of being subject to one another, would make us rest contented in the several Stations of Life wherein God hath thought fit to place us; because it would in the best and easiest manner bring us back as it were to that early State of the Gospel when Christians had all things in common. For, if the Poor found the Rich disposed to supply their Wants; if the Ignorant found the Wise ready to instruct and direct them; or, if the Weak might always find Protection from the Mighty; they could none of them with the least Pretence of Justice lament their own Condition.

From all that hath been hitherto said, it appears, that great Abilities of any sort, when they are employed as God directs, do but make the Owners of them greater and more painful Servants to their Neighbour, and the Publick: However, we are by no means to conclude from hence, that they are not really Blessings, when they are in the Hands of Good Men. For first,

what can be a greater Honour than to be chosen one of the Stewards and Dispensers of God's Bounty to Mankind? What is there, that can give a generous Spirit more Pleasure and Complacency of Mind, than to consider, that he is an Instrument of doing much Good? that great Numbers owe to him, under God, their Subsistence, their Safety, their Health, and the good Conduct of their Lives? The wickedest Man upon Earth taketh a Pleasure in doing Good to those he loveth; and therefore surely a good Christian, who obeys our Saviour's Command of loving all Men, cannot but take Delight in doing Good even to his Enemies. God, who giveth all things to all Men, can receive nothing from any; and those among Men, who do the most Good, and receive the fewest Returns, do most resemble their Creator: For which reason, Saint *Paul* delivereth it as a Saying of our Saviour, that *it is more blessed to give than to receive*. By this Rule, what must become of those Things which the World valueth as the greatest Blessings, Riches, Power, and the like, when our Saviour plainly determines, that the best way to make them Blessings, is to part with them? Therefore, although the Advantages which one Man hath over another, may be called Blessings, yet they are by no means so in the Sense the World usually understands. Thus, for Example, great Riches are no Blessing in themselves; because the poor Man with the common Necessaries of Life enjoys more Health, and hath fewer Cares without them: How then do they become Blessings? No otherwise, than by employing them in feeding the Hungry, cloathing the Naked, rewarding worthy Men, and in short, doing Acts of Charity and Generosity. Thus likewise, Power is no Blessing in itself, because private Men bear less Envy, and Trouble, and Anguish without it. But when it is employed to protect the Innocent, to relieve the Oppressed, and to punish the Oppressor, then it becometh a great Blessing. And, so lastly, even great Wisdom is in the Opinion of *Solomon* not a Blessing in itself: For *in much Wisdom is much Sorrow*; and Men of common Understandings, if they serve God and mind their Callings, make fewer Mistakes in the Conduct of Life than those who have better Heads. And yet, Wisdom is a mighty Blessing when it is

applied to good Purposes, to instruct the Ignorant, to be a faithful Counsellor either in publick or private, to be a Director to Youth, and to many other Ends needless here to mention.

To conclude: God sent us into the World to obey his Commands, by doing as much Good as our Abilities will reach, and as little Evil as our many Infirmities will permit. Some he hath only trusted with one Talent, some with five, and some with ten. No Man is without his Talent; and he that is faithful or negligent in a little, shall be rewarded or punished, as well as he that hath been so in a great deal.

Consider what hath been said, *&c.*

ON THE
Testimony of CONSCIENCE.

2 COR. I. VER. 12. Part of it.

— For our Rejoycing is this, the Testimony of our Conscience.

THERE is no Word more frequently in the Mouths of Men, than that of *Conscience*, and the Meaning of it is in some measure generally understood: However, because it is likewise a Word extreamly abused by many People, who apply other Meanings to it, which God Almighty never intended; I shall explain it to you in the clearest manner I am able. The Word *Conscience* properly signifies, that Knowledge which a Man hath within himself of his own Thoughts and Actions. And, because, if a Man judgeth fairly of his own Actions by comparing them with the Law of God, his Mind will either approve or condemn him according as he hath done Good or Evil; therefore this Knowledge or Conscience may properly be called both an Accuser and a Judge. So that whenever our Conscience accuseth us, we are certainly guilty; but we are not always innocent when it doth not accuse us: For very often, through the Hardness of our Hearts, or the Fondness and Favour we bear to our selves, or through Ignorance, or Neglect, we do not suffer our Conscience to take any Cognizance of several Sins we commit. There is another Office likewise belonging to Conscience, which is that of being our Director and Guide; and the wrong Use of this hath been the Occasion of more Evils under the Sun, than almost all other Causes put together. For, as Conscience is nothing else but the Knowledge we have of what we are thinking and doing; so it can guide us no farther than that Knowledge reacheth. And therefore God hath placed Conscience in us to be our Director only in those Actions which Scripture and Reason plainly tell us to be good or evil. But in Cases too difficult or doubtful for us to comprehend or determine, there Conscience is

not concerned; because it cannot advise in what it doth not understand, nor decide where it is itself in doubt: But, by God's great Mercy, those difficult Points are never of absolute Necessity to our Salvation. There is likewise another Evil, that Men often say, a Thing is against their Conscience, when really it is not. For Instance: Ask any of those who differ from the Worship established, why they do not come to Church? They will say, they dislike the Ceremonies, the Prayers, the Habits, and the like, and therefore it goeth against their Conscience: But they are mistaken, their Teacher hath put those Words into their Mouth; for a Man's Conscience can go no higher than his Knowledge; and therefore until he has thoroughly examined by Scripture, and the Practice of the ancient Church, whether those Points are blameable or no, his Conscience cannot possibly direct him to condemn them. Hence have likewise arisen those Mistakes about what is usually called *Liberty of Conscience*; which, properly speaking, is no more than a Liberty of knowing our own Thoughts; which Liberty no one can take from us. But those Words have obtained quite different Meanings: Liberty of Conscience is now-a-days not only understood to be the Liberty of believing what Men please, but also of endeavouring to propagate the Belief as much as they can, and to overthrow the Faith which the Laws have already established, to be rewarded by the Publick for those wicked Endeavours: And this is the Liberty of Conscience which the Fanaticks are now openly in the Face of the World endeavouring at with their utmost Application. At the same time it cannot but be observed, that those very Persons, who under a Pretence of a publick Spirit and Tenderness towards their Christian Brethren, are so jealous for such a Liberty of Conscience as this, are of all others the least tender to those who differ from them in the smallest Point relating to Government; and I wish I could not say, that the Majesty of the living God may be offended with more Security than the Memory of a dead Prince. But the Wisdom of the World at present seems to agree with that of the Heathen Emperor, who said, If the Gods were offended, it was their own Concern, and they were able to vindicate themselves.

But although Conscience hath been abused to those wicked Purposes which I have already related, yet a due Regard to the Directions it plainly giveth us, as well as to its Accusations, Reproaches, and Advices, would be of the greatest Use to Mankind, both for their present Welfare and future Happiness.

Therefore, my Discourse at this Time shall be directed to prove to you, that there is no solid, firm Foundation for Virtue, but on a Conscience which is guided by Religion.

In order to this, I shall first shew you the Weakness and Uncertainty of two false Principles which many People set up in the Place of Conscience, for a Guide to their Actions.

The first of these false Principles is, what the World usually calleth *Moral Honesty*. There are some People, who appear very indifferent as to Religion, and yet have the Repute of being just and fair in their Dealings; and these are generally known by the Character of good Moral Men. But now, if you look into the Grounds and Motives of such a Man's Actions, you shall find them to be no other than his own Ease and Interest. For Example: You trust a moral Man with your Money in the Way of Trade; you trust another with the Defence of your Cause at Law, and perhaps they both deal justly with you. Why? Not from any Regard they have for Justice, but because their Fortune depends upon their Credit, and a Stain of open publick Dishonesty must be to their Disadvantage. But let it consist with such a Man's Interest and Safety to wrong you, and then it will be impossible you can have any Hold upon him; because there is nothing left to give him a Check, or to put in the Balance against his Profit. For, if he hath nothing to govern himself by, but the Opinion of the World, as long as he can conceal his Injustice from the World, he thinks he is safe.

Besides, it is found by Experience, that those Men who set up for Morality without regard to Religion, are generally but virtuous in part; they will be just in their Dealings between Man and Man; but if they find themselves disposed to Pride, Lust, Intemperance, or Avarice, they do not think their Morality concerned to check them in any of these Vices, because it is the great Rule of such Men, that they may lawfully follow the Dic-

tates of Nature, wherever their Safety, Health, and Fortune are not injured. So, that upon the Whole, there is hardly one Vice which a meer moral Man may not upon some Occasions allow himself to practise.

The other false Principle, which some Men set up in the Place of Conscience to be their Director in Life, is what those who pretend to it, call *Honour*.

This Word is often made the Sanction of an Oath; it is reckoned a great Commendation to be a Man of strict Honour; and it is commonly understood, that a Man of Honour can never be guilty of a base Action. This is usually the Stile of Military Men; of Persons with Titles; and of others who pretend to Birth and Quality. It is true indeed, that in ancient Times it was universally understood, that Honour was the Reward of Virtue; but if such Honour as is now-a-days going will not permit a Man to do a base Action, it must be allowed, there are very few such Things as base Actions in Nature. No Man of Honour, as that Word is usually understood, did ever pretend that his Honour obliged him to be chaste or temperate; to pay his Creditors; to be useful to his Country; to do good to Mankind; to endeavour to be wise or learned; to regard his Word, his Promise, or his Oath; or if he hath any of these Virtues, they were never learned in the Catechism of Honour; which contains but two Precepts, the punctual Payment of Debts contracted at Play, and the right understanding the several Degrees of an Affront, in order to revenge it by the Death of an Adversary.

But suppose, this Principle of Honour, which some Men so much boast of, did really produce more Virtues than it ever pretended to; yet since the very Being of that Honour dependeth upon the Breath, the Opinion, or the Fancy of the People; the Virtues derived from it could be of no long or certain Duration. For Example: Suppose a Man from a Principle of Honour should resolve to be just, or chaste, or temperate; and yet the censuring World should take a Humour of refusing him those Characters; he would then think the Obligation at an End: Or, on the other Side, if he thought he could gain Honour by the falsest and vilest Actions (which is a Case that very often hap-

pens,) he would then make no Scruple to perform it. And God knows, it would be an unhappy State, to have the Religion, the Liberty, or the Property of a People lodged in such Hands, which however hath been too often the Case.

What I have said upon this Principle of Honour may perhaps be thought of small Concernment to most of you who are my Hearers: However, a Caution was not altogether unnecessary; since there is nothing by which not only the Vulgar, but the honest Tradesman hath been so much deceived, as this infamous Pretence to Honour in too many of their Betters.

Having thus shewn you the Weakness and Uncertainty of those Principles which some Men set up in the Place of Conscience to direct them in their Actions, I shall now endeavour to prove to you, that there is no solid, firm Foundation of Virtue, but in a Conscience directed by the Principles of Religion.

There is no way of judging how far we may depend upon the Actions of Men, otherwise than by knowing the Motives, and Grounds, and Causes of them; and, if the Motives of our Actions be not resolved and determined into the Law of God, they will be precarious and uncertain, and liable to perpetual Changes. I will shew you what I mean, by an Example: Suppose a Man thinks it is his Duty to obey his Parents, because Reason tells him so, because he is obliged by Gratitude, and because the Laws of his Country command him to do so: But, if he stops here, his Parents can have no lasting Security; for an Occasion may happen, wherein it may be extremely his Interest to be disobedient, and where the Laws of the Land can lay no hold upon him: Therefore, before such a Man can safely be trusted, he must proceed farther, and consider, that his Reason is the Gift of God; that God commanded him to be obedient to the Laws, and did moreover in a particular manner enjoin him to be dutiful to his Parents; after which, if he lays a due Weight upon those Considerations, he will probably continue in his Duty to the End of his Life: Because no earthly Interest can ever come in Competition to balance the Danger of offending his Creator, or the Happiness of pleasing him. And of all this his Conscience will certainly inform him, if he hath any Regard to Religion.

Secondly; Fear and Hope are the two greatest natural Motives of all Men's Actions: But, neither of these Passions will ever put us in the Way of Virtue, unless they be directed by Conscience. For, although virtuous Men do sometimes accidentally make their Way to Preferment, yet the World is so corrupted, that no Man can reasonably hope to be rewarded in it, meerly upon account of his Virtue. And consequently, the Fear of Punishment in this Life will preserve Men from very few Vices, since some of the blackest and basest do often prove the surest Steps to Favour; such as Ingratitude, Hypocrisy, Treachery, Malice, Subornation, Atheism, and many more which human Laws do little concern themselves about. But when Conscience placeth before us the Hopes of everlasting Happiness, and the Fears of everlasting Misery, as the Reward and Punishment of our good or evil Actions, our Reason can find no way to avoid the Force of such an Argument, otherwise than by running into Infidelity.

Lastly; Conscience will direct us to love God, and to put our whole Trust and Confidence in Him. Our Love of God will inspire us with a Detestation for Sin, as what is of all Things most contrary to his Divine Nature; and if we have an entire Confidence in him, *that* will enable us to subdue and despise all the Allurements of the World.

It may here be objected, If Conscience be so sure a Director to us Christians in the Conduct of our Lives, how cometh it to pass, that the ancient Heathens, who had no other Lights but those of Nature and Reason, should so far exceed us in all manner of Virtue, as plainly appears by many Examples they have left on record?

To which it may be answered; First, those Heathens were extremely strict and exact in the Education of their Children; whereas among us this Care is so much laid aside, that the more God hath blessed any Man with Estate or Quality, just so much less in Proportion is the Care he taketh in the Education of his Children, and particularly of that Child which is to inherit his Fortune; of which the Effects are visible enough among the Great Ones of the World. Again, those Heathens did in a particular manner instil the Principle into their Children of loving

their Country; which is so far otherwise now-a-days, that, of the several Parties among us, there is none of them that seem to have so much as heard, whether there be such a Virtue in the World; as plainly appears by their Practices, and especially when they are placed in those Stations where they can only have Opportunity of shewing it. Lastly; The most considerable among the Heathens did generally believe Rewards and Punishments in a Life to come; which is the great Principle for Conscience to work upon: Whereas too many of those who would be thought the most considerable among us, do, both by their Practices and their Discourses, plainly affirm, that they believe nothing at all of the Matter.

Wherefore, since it hath manifestly appeared that a Religious Conscience is the only true solid Foundation upon which Virtue can be built, give me leave before I conclude, to let you see how necessary such a Conscience is, to conduct us in every Station and Condition of our Lives.

That a Religious Conscience is necessary in any Station, is confessed even by those who tell us, that all Religion was invented by cunning Men, in order to keep the World in Awe. For, if Religion, by the Confession of its Adversaries, be necessary towards the well-governing of Mankind; then every wise Man in Power will be sure not only to chuse out for every Station under him such Persons as are most likely to be kept in Awe by Religion, but likewise to carry some Appearance of it himself, or else he is a very weak Politician. And accordingly in any Country where great Persons affect to be open Despisers of Religion, their Counsels will be found at last to be fully as destructive to the State as the Church.

It was the Advice of *Jethro* to his Son-in-Law *Moses*, to *provide able Men, such as fear God, Men of Truth, hating Covetousness*, and to place such over the People; and *Moses*, who was as wise a Statesman, at least, as any in this Age, thought fit to follow that Advice. Great Abilities, without the Fear of God, are most dangerous Instruments when they are trusted with Power. The Laws of Man have thought fit, that those who are called to any Office of Trust should be bound by an Oath to the faithful Discharge

of it: But, an Oath is an Appeal to God, and therefore can have no Influence except upon those who believe that he is, and that he is a Rewarder of those that seek him, and a Punisher of those who disobey him: And therefore, we see, the Laws themselves are forced to have recourse to Conscience in these Cases, because their Penalties cannot reach the Arts of cunning Men, who can find Ways to be guilty of a thousand Injustices without being discovered, or at least without being punished. And the Reason why we find so many Frauds, Abuses, and Corruptions where any Trust is conferred, can be no other, than that there is so little Conscience and Religion left in the World, or at least that Men in their Choice of Instruments have private Ends in view, which are very different from the Service of the Publick. Besides, it is certain, that Men who profess to have no Religion, are full as zealous to bring over Proselytes as any Papist or Fanatick can be. And therefore, if those who are in Station high enough to be of Influence or Example to others; if those (I say) openly profess a Contempt or Disbelief of Religion, they will be sure to make all their Dependents of their own Principles; and what Security can the Publick expect from such Persons, whenever their Interests or their Lusts come into Competition with their Duty? It is very possible for a Man who has the Appearance of Religion, and a great Pretender to Conscience, to be wicked and an Hypocrite; but, it is impossible for a Man who openly declares against Religion, to give any reasonable Security that he will not be false and cruel, and corrupt, whenever a Temptation offers, which he valueth more than he does the Power wherewith he was trusted. And, if such a Man doth not betray his Cause and his Master, it was only because the Temptation was not properly offered, or the Profit was too small, or the Danger too great. And hence it is, that we find so little Truth or Justice among us, because there are so very few, who either in the Service of the Publick, or in common Dealings with each other, do ever look farther than their own Advantage, and how to guard themselves against the Laws of the Country; which a Man may do by Favour, by Secresy, or by Cunning, although he breaketh almost every Law of God.

Therefore to conclude: It plainly appears, that unless Men are guided by the Advice and Judgment of a Conscience founded on Religion, they can give no Security that they will be either good Subjects, faithful Servants of the Publick, or honest in their mutual Dealings; since there is no other Tie thro' which the Pride, or Lust, or Avarice, or Ambition of Mankind will not certainly break one Time or other.

Consider what hath been said, *&c.*

ON THE
TRINITY.

1 Epist. Gen. of St. JOHN V. 7.

For there are Three that bear Record in Heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Holy Ghost; and these Three are One.

THIS Day being set apart to acknowledge our Belief in the Eternal TRINITY, I thought it might be proper to employ my present Discourse entirely upon that Subject; and, I hope, to handle it in such a Manner, that the most Ignorant among you may return home better informed of your Duty in this great Point, than probably you are at present.

It must be confessed, that by the Weakness and Indiscretion of busy (or at best, of well-meaning) People, as well as by the Malice of those who are Enemies to all Revealed Religion, and are not content to possess their own Infidelity in Silence, without communicating it to the Disturbance of Mankind; I say, by these Means, it must be confessed, that the Doctrine of the Trinity hath suffered very much, and made Christianity suffer along with it. For these two Things must be granted: First, That Men of wicked Lives would be very glad there were no Truth in Christianity at all; and secondly, If they can pick out any one single Article in the Christian Religion which appears not agreeable to their own corrupted Reason, or to the Arguments of those bad People, who follow the Trade of seducing others, they presently conclude, that the Truth of the whole Gospel must sink along with that one Article; which is just as wise, as if a Man should say, because he dislikes one Law of his Country, he will therefore observe no Law at all; and yet, that one Law may be very reasonable in itself, although he doth not allow it, or doth not know the Reason of the Lawgivers.

Thus it hath happened with the great Doctrine of the Trinity;

which Word is indeed not in Scripture, but was a Term of Art invented in the earlier Times to express the Doctrine by a single Word, for the Sake of Brevity and Convenience. The Doctrine then, as delivered in Holy Scripture, although not exactly in the same Words, is very short, and amounts only to this, That the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, are each of them God, and yet that there is but One God. For, as to the Word *Person*, when we say there are three Persons; and as to those other Explanations in the *Athanasian* Creed this Day read to you (whether compiled by *Athanasius* or no) they were taken up three hundred Years after Christ, to expound this Doctrine; and I will tell you upon what Occasion. About that time there sprang up a Heresy of a People called *Arrians*, from one *Arrius* the Leader of them. These denied our Saviour to be God, although they allowed all the rest of the Gospel (wherein they were more sincere than their Followers among us.) Thus the Christian World was divided into two Parts, until at length, by the Zeal and Courage of Saint *Athanasius*, the *Arrians* were condemned in a General Council, and a Creed formed upon the true Faith, as Saint *Athanasius* hath settled it. This Creed is now read at certain times in our Churches, which, although it is useful for Edification to those who understand it; yet, since it containeth some nice and philosophical Points which few People can comprehend, the Bulk of Mankind is obliged to believe no more than the Scripture-Doctrine, as I have delivered it. Because that Creed was intended only as an Answer to the *Arrians* in their own Way, who were very subtle Disputers.

But this Heresy having revived in the World about an hundred Years ago, and continued ever since; not out of a Zeal to Truth, but to give a Loose to Wickedness, by throwing off all Religion; several Divines, in order to answer the Cavils of those Adversaries to Truth and Morality, began to find out farther Explanations of this Doctrine of the Trinity, by Rules of Philosophy; which have multiplied Controversies to such a Degree, as to beget Scruples that have perplexed the Minds of many sober Christians, who otherwise could never have entertained them.

I must therefore be so bold to affirm, that the Method taken by many of those learned Men to defend the Doctrine of the Trinity, hath been founded upon a Mistake.

It must be allowed, that every Man is bound to follow the Rules and Directions of that Measure of Reason which God hath given him; and indeed he cannot do otherwise, if he will be sincere, or act like a Man. For Instance: If I should be commanded by an Angel from Heaven to believe it is Midnight at Noon-day; yet I could not believe him. So, if I were directly told in Scripture, that *Three* are *One*, and *One* is *Three*, I could not conceive or believe it in the natural common Sense of that Expression, but must suppose that something dark or mystical was meant, which it pleased God to conceal from me and from all the World. Thus, in the Text, *There are Three that bear Record*, &c. Am I capable of knowing and defining what Union and what Distinction there may be in the Divine Nature? which possibly may be hid from the Angels themselves. Again, I see it plainly declared in Scripture, that there is but one God; and yet I find our Saviour claiming the Prerogative of God in knowing Men's Thoughts; in saying *He and his Father are one*; and, *before Abraham was, I am*. I read, that the Disciples worshipped him: That *Thomas* said to him, *My Lord and my God*. And, Saint *John*, Chap. 1st, *In the Beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God*. I read likewise that the Holy Ghost bestowed the Gift of Tongues, and the Power of working Miracles; which, if rightly considered, is as great a Miracle as any, that a Number of illiterate Men should of a sudden be qualified to speak all the Languages then known in the World; such as could be done by the Inspiration of God alone. From these several Texts it is plain, that God commandeth us to believe there is a Union and there is a Distinction; but what that Union, or what that Distinction is, all Mankind are equally ignorant, and must continue so, at least till the Day of Judgment, without some new Revelation.

But because I cannot conceive the Nature of this Union and Distinction in the Divine Nature, am I therefore to reject them as absurd and impossible; as I would, if any one told me that

three Men are one, and one Man is three? We are told, that a Man and his Wife are one Flesh; this I can comprehend the Meaning of; yet, literally taken, it is a thing impossible. But the Apostle telleth us, *We see but in part, and we know but in part*; and yet we would comprehend all the secret Ways and Workings of God.

Therefore I shall again repeat the Doctrine of the Trinity, as it is positively affirmed in Scripture: That God is there expressed in three different Names, as Father, as Son, and as Holy Ghost; that each of these is God, and that there is but one God. But this Union and Distinction are a Mystery utterly unknown to Mankind.

This is enough for any good Christian to believe on this great Article, without ever inquiring any farther: And, this can be contrary to no Man's Reason, although the Knowledge of it is hid from him.

But there is another Difficulty of great Importance among those who quarrel with the Doctrine of the Trinity, as well as with several other Articles of Christianity; which is, that our Religion abounds in Mysteries, and these they are so bold to revile as Cant, Imposture, and Priest-craft. It is impossible for us to determine for what Reasons God thought fit to communicate some Things to us in Part, and leave some Part a Mystery. But so it is in Fact, and so the Holy Scripture tells us in several Places. For Instance: The Resurrection and Change of our Bodies are called Mysteries by Saint *Paul*; our Saviour's Incarnation is another: The Kingdom of God is called a Mystery by our Saviour, to be only known to his Disciples; so is Faith, and the Word of God by Saint *Paul*: I omit many others. So, that to declare against all Mysteries without Distinction or Exception, is to declare against the whole Tenor of the New Testament.

There are two Conditions that may bring a Mystery under Suspicion. First, When it is not taught and commanded in Holy Writ; or, secondly, When the Mystery turns to the Advantage of those who preach it to others. Now, as to the first, it can never be said, that we preach Mysteries without Warrant from Holy Scripture, although I confess this of the Trinity may have

sometimes been explained by human Invention, which might perhaps better have been spared. As to the second; it will not be possible to charge the Protestant Priesthood with proposing any temporal Advantage to themselves by broaching or multiplying, or preaching of Mysteries. Does this Mystery of the Trinity, for Instance, and the Descent of the Holy Ghost, bring the least Profit or Power to the Preachers? No; it is as great a Mystery to themselves as it is to the meanest of their Hearers; and may be rather a Cause of Humiliation, by putting their Understanding in that Point upon a Level with the most ignorant of their Flock. It is true indeed, the *Roman* Church hath very much enriched herself by trading in Mysteries, for which they have not the least Authority from Scripture, and were fitted only to advance their own temporal Wealth and Grandeur; such as *Transubstantiation*, *Worshipping of Images*, *Indulgences* for *Sins*, *Purgatory*, and *Masses* for the *Dead*; with many more: But, it is the perpetual Talent of those who have Ill-Will to our Church, or a Contempt for all Religion, taken up by the Wickedness of their Lives, to charge us with the Errors and Corruptions of Popery, which all Protestants have thrown off near two hundred Years: Whereas those Mysteries held by us have no Prospect of Power, Pomp, or Wealth, but have been ever maintained by the universal Body of true Believers from the Days of the Apostles, and will be so to the Resurrection; neither will the Gates of Hell prevail against them.

It may be thought perhaps a strange thing, that God should require us to believe Mysteries, while the Reason or Manner of what we are to believe is above our Comprehension, and wholly concealed from us: neither doth it appear at first sight, that the believing or not believing them doth concern either the Glory of God, or contribute to the Goodness or Wickedness of our Lives. But this is a great and dangerous Mistake. We see what a mighty Weight is laid upon Faith, both in the Old and New Testament. In the former we read how the Faith of *Abraham* is praised, who could believe that God would raise from him a great Nation, at the very same time that he was commanded to sacrifice his only Son, and despaired of any other Issue. And this

was to him a great Mystery. Our Saviour is perpetually preaching Faith to his Disciples, or reproaching them with the Want of it; and Saint *Paul* produceth numerous Examples of the Wonders done by Faith. And all this is highly reasonable; for, Faith is an entire Dependence upon the Truth, the Power, the Justice, and the Mercy of God; which Dependence will certainly incline us to obey him in all Things. So, that the great Excellency of Faith, consisteth in the Consequence it hath upon our Actions: As, if we depend upon the Truth and Wisdom of a Man, we shall certainly be more disposed to follow his Advice. Therefore, let no Man think that he can lead as good a moral Life without Faith, as with it; for this Reason, Because he who hath no Faith, cannot, by the Strength of his own Reason or Endeavours, so easily resist Temptations, as the other who depends upon God's Assistance in the overcoming his Frailties, and is sure to be rewarded for ever in Heaven for his Victory over them. *Faith*, says the Apostle, *is the Evidence of Things not seen*: He means, that Faith is a Virtue by which any Thing commanded us by God to believe, appears evident and certain to us, although we do not see, nor can conceive it; because, by Faith we entirely depend upon the Truth and Power of God.

It is an old and true Distinction, that Things may be above our Reason without being contrary to it. Of this Kind are the Power, the Nature, and the universal Presence of God, with innumerable other Points. How little do those who quarrel with Mysteries, know of the commonest Actions of Nature? The Growth of an Animal, of a Plant, or of the smallest Seed, is a Mystery to the wisest among Men. If an ignorant Person were told that a Loadstone would draw Iron at a Distance, he might say it was a Thing contrary to his Reason, and could not believe before he saw it with his Eyes.

The Manner whereby the Soul and Body are united, and how they are distinguished, is wholly unaccountable to us. We see but one Part, and yet we know we consist of two; and this is a Mystery we cannot comprehend, any more than that of the Trinity.

From what hath been said, it is manifest, that God did never

command us to believe, nor his Ministers to preach, any Doctrine which is contrary to the Reason he hath pleased to endow us with; but for his own wise Ends has thought fit to conceal from us the Nature of the Thing he commands; thereby to try our Faith and Obedience, and encrease our Dependence upon him.

It is highly probable, that if God should please to reveal unto us this great Mystery of the Trinity, or some other Mysteries in our Holy Religion, we should not be able to understand them, unless he would at the same time think fit to bestow on us some new Powers or Faculties of the Mind, which we want at present, and are reserved till the Day of Resurrection to Life eternal. *For now*, as the Apostle says, *we see through a Glass darkly, but then Face to Face.*

Thus, we see, the Matter is brought to this Issue; we must either believe what God directly commandeth us in Holy Scripture, or we must wholly reject the Scripture, and the Christian Religion which we pretend to profess: But this, I hope, is too desperate a Step for any of us to make.

I have already observed, that those who preach up the Belief of the Trinity, or of any other Mystery, cannot propose any Temporal Advantage to themselves by so doing. But this is not the Case of those who oppose these Doctrines. Do *they* lead better moral Lives than a good Christian? Are *they* more just in their Dealings? more chaste, or temperate, or charitable? Nothing at all of this; but on the contrary, their Intent is to overthrow all Religion, that they may gratify their Vices without any Reproach from the World, or their own Conscience; and are zealous to bring over as many others as they can to their own Opinions; because it is some kind of imaginary Comfort to have a Multitude on their Side.

There is no Miracle mentioned in Holy Writ, which, if it were strictly examined, is not as much contrary to common Reason, and as much a Mystery as this Doctrine of the Trinity; and therefore we may with equal Justice deny the Truth of them all. For Instance: It is against the Laws of Nature, that a Human Body should be able to walk upon the Water, as Saint *Peter* is re-

corded to have done; or that a dead Carcase should be raised from the Grave after three Days, when it began to be corrupted; which those who understand Anatomy will pronounce to be impossible by the common Rules of Nature and Reason. Yet these Miracles, and many others, are positively affirmed in the Gospel; and these we must believe, or give up our Holy Religion to Atheists and Infidels.

I shall now make a few Inferences and Observations from what hath been said.

First, It would be well, if People would not lay so much Weight on their own Reason in Matters of Religion, as to think every thing impossible and absurd which they cannot conceive. How often do we contradict the right Rules of Reason in the whole Course of our Lives? *Reason* itself is true and just, but the *Reason* of every particular Man is weak and wavering, perpetually swayed and turned by his Interests, his Passions, and his Vices. Let any Man but consider, when he hath a Controversy with another, although his Cause be ever so unjust, although the World be against him, how blinded he is by the Love of himself, to believe that Right is Wrong, and Wrong is Right, when it maketh for his own Advantage. Where is then the right Use of his Reason, which he so much boasteth of, and which he would blasphemously set up to controul the Commands of the Almighty?

Secondly, When Men are tempted to deny the Mysteries of Religion, let them examine and search into their own Hearts, whether they have not some favourite Sin which is of their Party in this Dispute, and which is equally contrary to other Commands of God in the Gospel. For, why do Men love Darkness rather than Light? The Scripture telleth us, *Because their Deeds are evil*; and there can be no other Reason assigned. Therefore when Men are curious and inquisitive to discover some weak Sides in Christianity, and inclined to favour every thing that is offered to its Disadvantage; it is plain they wish it were not true, and those Wishes can proceed from nothing but an evil Conscience; because, if there be Truth in our Religion, their Condition must be miserable.

And therefore, *Thirdly*, Men should consider, that raising

Difficulties concerning the Mysteries in Religion, cannot make them more wise, learned, or virtuous; better Neighbours, or Friends, or more serviceable to their Country; but, whatever they pretend, will destroy their inward Peace of Mind, by perpetual Doubts and Fears arising in their Breasts. And, God forbid we should ever see the Times so bad, when dangerous Opinions in Religion will be a means to get Favour and Preferment; although even in such a Case it would be an ill Traffick, to gain the World, and lose our own Souls. So, that upon the whole, it will be impossible to find any real Use towards a virtuous or happy Life, by denying the Mysteries of the Gospel.

Fourthly, Those strong Unbelievers, who expect that all Mysteries should be squared and fitted to their own Reason, might have somewhat to say for themselves, if they could satisfy the general Reason of Mankind in their other Opinions: but herein they are miserably defective, absurd, and ridiculous; they strain at a Gnat, and swallow a Camel; they can believe that the World was made by Chance; that God doth not concern himself with Things below; will neither punish Vice, nor reward Virtue; that Religion was invented by cunning Men to keep the World in Awe; with many other Opinions equally false and detestable, against the common Light of Nature as well as Reason; against the universal Sentiments of all civilized Nations, and offensive to the Ears even of a sober Heathen.

Lastly, Since the World abounds with pestilent Books, particularly written against this Doctrine of the Trinity; it is fit to inform you, that the Authors of them proceed wholly upon a Mistake: They would shew how impossible it is that *Three* can be One, and *One* can be Three; whereas the Scripture saith no such Thing, at least in that manner they would make it: But, only, that there is some kind of Unity and Distinction in the Divine Nature, which Mankind cannot possibly comprehend: Thus, the whole Doctrine is short and plain, and in itself uncapable of any Controversy; since God himself hath pronounced the Fact, but wholly concealed the Manner. And therefore many Divines who thought fit to answer those wicked Books, have been mistaken too, by answering Fools in their Folly; and endeavouring to explain a

Mystery which God intended to keep secret from us. And, as I would exhort all Men to avoid reading those wicked Books written against this Doctrine, as dangerous and pernicious; so I think they may omit the Answers as unnecessary. This I confess will probably affect but few or none among the Generality of our Congregations, who do not much trouble themselves with Books, at least of this Kind. However, many who do not read themselves, are seduced by others that do; and thus become Unbelievers upon Trust and at second Hand; and this is too frequent a Case: For which Reason I have endeavoured to put this Doctrine upon a short and sure Foot, levelled to the meanest Understanding; by which we may, as the Apostle directs, be ready always to give an Answer to every Man that asketh us a Reason of the Hope that is in us, with Meekness and Fear.

And, thus I have done with my Subject, which probably I should not have chosen, if I had not been invited to it by the Occasion of this Season, appointed on Purpose to celebrate the Mysteries of the Trinity, and the Descent of the Holy Ghost, wherein we pray to be kept stedfast in this Faith; and what this Faith is I have shewn you in the plainest manner I could. For, upon the whole, it is no more than this: God commandeth us, by our Dependence upon his Truth and his holy Word, to believe a Fact that we do not understand. And, this is no more than what we do every Day in the Works of Nature, upon the Credit of Men of Learning. Without Faith we can do no Works acceptable to God; for, if they proceed from any other Principle, they will not advance our Salvation; and this Faith, as I have explained it, we may acquire without giving up our Senses, or contradicting our Reason. May God of his infinite Mercy inspire us with true Faith in every Article and Mystery of our Holy Religion, so as to dispose us to do what is pleasing in his Sight; and this we pray through Jesus Christ, to whom, with the Father and the Holy Ghost, the mysterious incomprehensible One God, be all Honour and Glory now and for evermore. *Amen.*

Brotherly Love.

A

SERMON,

PREACHED IN

ST. *PATRICK*'S CHURCH;

On *December* 1ſt, 1717.

By DR. JONATHAN SWIFT,
Dean of St. *Patrick*'s, DUBLIN.

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ON
BROTHERLY LOVE.

HEBREWS, Chap. xiii. Ver. 1.
Let Brotherly Love continue.

IN the early Times of the Gospel, the Christians were very much distinguished from all other Bodies of Men, by the great and constant Love they bore to each other; which, although it was done in Obedience to the frequent Injunctions of our Saviour and his Apostles, yet I confess, there seemeth to have been likewise a natural Reason, that very much promoted it. For, the Christians then were few and scattered, living under Persecution, by the Heathens round about them, in whose Hands was all the civil and military Power; and there is nothing so apt to unite the Minds and Hearts of Men, or to beget Love and Tenderness, as a general Distress. The first Dissentions between Christians took their Beginning from the Errors and Heresies that arose among them; many of those Heresies sometimes extinguished, and sometimes reviving or succeeded by others, remain to this Day; and having been made Instruments to the Pride, Avarice, or Ambition of ill designing Men, by extinguishing Brotherly Love, have been the Cause of infinite Calamities, as well as Corruptions of Faith and Manners, in the Christian World.

THE last Legacy of *Christ* was Peace and mutual Love; but then he foretold that he came to send a Sword upon the Earth: The primitive Christians accepted the Legacy, and their Successors, down to the present Age, have been largely fulfilling his Prophecy. But whatever the Practice of Mankind hath been, or still continues, there is no Duty more incumbent upon those who profess the Gospel, than that of Brotherly Love; which whoever could restore, in any Degree, among Men, would be an Instrument of more Good to human Society, than ever was, or will be done, by all the Statesmen and Politicians in the World.

IT is upon this Subject of Brotherly Love, that I intend to discourse at present, and the Method I observe shall be as follows:

I. *First*, I will enquire into the Causes of this great Want of Brotherly Love among us.
II. *Secondly*, I will lay open the sad Effects and Consequences which our Animosities, and mutual Hatred have produced.
III. *Lastly*, I will use some Motives and Exhortations, that may persuade you to embrace Brotherly Love, and to continue in it.

I. *First*. I shall enquire into the Causes of this great Want of Brotherly Love among us:

THIS Nation of ours hath for an Hundred Years past, been infested by two Enemies, the Papists and Fanaticks, who each, in their Turns, filled it with Blood and Slaughter, and for a Time destroyed both the Church and Government. The Memory of these Events hath put all true Protestants equally upon their Guard against both these Adversaries, who, by Consequence, do equally hate us: The Fanaticks revile us, as too nearly approaching to Popery; and the Papists condemn us as bordering too much on Fanaticism. The Papists, GOD be praised, are, by the Wisdom of our Laws, and their own Want of Power, put out of all visible Possibility of hurting us; besides, their Religion is so generally abhorred, that they have no Advocates or Abettors among Protestants to assist them. But the Fanaticks are to be considered in another Light; they have had of late Years the Power, the Luck, or the Cunning, to divide us among ourselves; they have endeavoured to represent all those who have been so bold as to oppose their Errors and Designs under the Character of Persons disaffected to the Government; and they have so far succeeded, that now a Days, if a Clergyman happeneth to preach with any Zeal and Vehemence against the Sin or Danger of Schism, there will not want too many in his Congregation ready enough to censure him as hot and high-flying, an Inflamer of Men's Minds, an Enemy to Moderation, and disloyal to his Prince. This hath produced a formed and settled Division between those who pro-

fess the same Doctrine and Discipline, while they who call themselves Moderate are forced to widen their Bottom, by sacrificing their Principles and their Brethren to the Incroachments and the Insolence of Dissenters, who are therefore answerable, as a principal Cause of all that Hatred and Animosity now reigning among us.

ANOTHER Cause of the great Want of Brotherly Love, is owing to the Weakness and Folly of too many among you, of the lower Sort, who are made the Tools and Instruments of your Betters, to work their Designs, wherein you have no Concern. Your Numbers make you of Use, and cunning Men take the Advantage, by putting Words into your Mouths, which you do not understand; then they fix good or ill Characters to those Words, as it best serves their Purposes: And thus you are taught to love or hate, you know not what, nor why; you often suspect your best Friends and nearest Neighbours, even your Teacher himself, without any Reason, if your Leaders have once taught you to call him by a Name, which, they tell you, signifieth some very bad Thing.

A THIRD Cause of our great Want of Brotherly Love seemeth to be, that this Duty is not so often insisted on from the Pulpit as it ought to be in such Times as these; on the contrary, it is to be doubted, whether Doctrines are not sometimes delivered by an ungoverned Zeal, a Desire to be distinguished, or a View of Interest, which produce quite different Effects; when upon Occasions set apart to return Thanks to God for some Public Blessing, the Time is employed in stirring up one Part of the Congregation against the other, by Representations of Things and Persons, which God in his Mercy forgive those who are guilty of.

THE last Cause I shall mention of the Want of Brotherly Love, is that unhappy Disposition towards Politicks among the Trading People, which hath been industriously instilled into them. In former Times, the middle and lower Sort of Mankind seldom gained or lost by the Factions of the Kingdom, and therefore were little concerned in them, further than as Matter of Talk and Amusement; but, now, the meanest Dealer will expect to turn the Penny by the Merits of his Party. He can represent his Neigh-

bour as a Man of dangerous Principles, can bring a railing Accusation against him, perhaps a criminal One, and so rob him of his Livelihood, and find his own Account by that, much more than if he had disparaged his Neighbour's Goods, or defamed him as a Cheat. For, so it happens, that, instead of enquiring into the Skill or Honesty of those Kind of People, the Manner is now to enquire into their Party, and to reject or encourage them accordingly; which Proceeding hath made our People in general such able Politicians, that all the Artifice, Flattery, Dissimulation, Diligence, and Dexterity in undermining each other, which the satyrical Wit of Men hath charged upon Courts; together with all the Rage and Violence, Cruelty and Injustice, which have been ever imputed to Publick Assemblies, are with us (so polite are we grown) to be seen among our meanest Traders and Artificers, in the greatest Perfection. All which, as it may be Matter of some Humiliation to the Wise and Mighty of this World, so the Effects thereof may perhaps in Time prove very different from what, I hope, in Charity, were ever foreseen or intended.

II. I WILL therefore now in the second Place, lay open some of the sad Effects and Consequences which our Animosities and mutual Hatred have produced.

AND the first ill Consequence is, that our Want of Brotherly Love hath almost driven out all Sense of Religion from among us, which cannot well be otherwise: For, since our Saviour laid so much Weight upon his Disciples loving one another, that he gave it among his last Instructions; and since the Primitive Christians are allowed to have chiefly propagated the Faith by their strict Observance of that Instruction, it must follow that in Proportion as Brotherly Love declineth, Christianity will do so too. The little Religion there is in the World hath been observed to reside chiefly among the middle and lower Sort of People, who are neither tempted to Pride and Luxury by great Riches, nor to desperate Courses by extreme Poverty: And truly upon that Account I have thought it a Happiness, that these who are under my immediate Care are generally of that Condition; but where Party hath once made Entrance with all its Consequences of Hatred, Envy, Partiality, and Virulence, Religion cannot long keep its

Hold in any State or Degree of Life whatsoever. For, if the Great Men of the World have been censured in all Ages for mingling too little Religion with their Politicks, what a Havock of Principles must they needs make in unlearned and vulgar Heads? of which indeed the Effects are already too visible and melancholy all over the Kingdom.

ANOTHER ill Consequence from our Want of Brotherly Love is, that it increases the Insolence of the Fanaticks; and this partly ariseth from a mistaken Meaning of the Word Moderation; a Word which hath been much abused, and bandied about for several Years past. There are too many People indifferent enough to all Religion; there are many others who dislike the Clergy; and would have them live in Poverty and Dependence: Both these Sorts are much commended by the Fanaticks for moderate Men, ready to put an End to our Divisions, and to make a General Union among Protestants. Many ignorant well-meaning People are deceived by these Appearances, strengthened with great Pretences to Loyalty: And this Occasion the Fanaticks lay hold on, to revile the Doctrine and Discipline of the Church, and even insult and oppress the Clergy, wherever their Numbers or Favourers will bear them out; insomuch that one wilful refractory Fanatick hath been able to disturb a whole Parish for many Years together. But, the most moderate and favoured Divines dare not own, that the Word Moderation, with Respect to the Dissenters, can be at all applied to their Religion, but is purely Personal or Prudential. No good Man repineth at the Liberty of Conscience they enjoy; and perhaps a very moderate Divine may think better of their Loyalty than others do; or to speak after the Manner of Men, may think it necessary that all Protestants should be united against the common Enemy: Or may out of Discretion, or other Reasons best known to himself, be tender of mentioning them at all. But still, the Errors of the Dissenters are all fixed and determined, and must upon Demand be acknowledged by all the Divines of our Church, whether they be called, in Party Phrase, high or low, moderate or violent. And further, I believe it would be hard to find many moderate Divines, who, if their Opinion were asked whether Dissenters should be trusted with Power,

could according to their Consciences answer in the Affirmative; from whence it is plain, that all the Stir, which the Fanaticks have made with this Word Moderation, was only meant to encrease our Divisions, and widen them so far as to make Room for themselves to get in betwixt. And this is the only Scheme they ever had (except that of destroying Root and Branch) for the uniting of Protestants, they so much talk of.

I SHALL mention but one ill Consequence more which attendeth our want of Brotherly Love; that it hath quite put an End to all Hospitality and Friendship, all good Correspondence and Commerce between Mankind. There are indeed such Things as Leagues and Confederacies among those of the same Party; but surely God never intended, that Men should be so limited in the Choice of their Friends: However, so it is in Town and Country, in every Parish and Street; the Pastor is divided from his Flock, the Father from his Son, and the House often divided against itself. Men's very Natures are soured and their Passions inflamed when they meet in Party Clubs, and spend their Time in nothing else but Railing at the opposite Side; thus every Man alive among us is encompassed with a Million of Enemies of his own Country, among which his oldest Acquaintance and Friends, and Kindred themselves are often of the Number: Neither can People of different Parties mix together without Constraint, Suspicion, and Jealousy, watching every Word they speak, for Fear of giving Offence, or else falling into Rudenesses and Reproaches, and so leaving themselves open to the Malice and Corruption of Informers, who were never more numerous or expert in their Trade. And as a further Addition to this Evil, those very few who, by the Goodness and Generosity of their Nature do, in their own Hearts despise this narrow Principle of confining their Friendship and Esteem, their Charity and good Offices to those of their own Party, yet dare not discover their good Inclinations, for Fear of losing their Favour and Interest. And others again, whom God had formed with mild and gentle Dispositions, think it necessary to put a Force upon their own Tempers, by acting a noisy, violent, malicious Part, as a Means to be distinguished. Thus hath Party got the better of the very Genius and Constitu-

tion of our People; so that whoever reads the Characters of the *English* in former Ages, will hardly believe their present Posterity to be of the same Nation or Climate.

III. I SHALL now, in the last Place, make Use of some Motives and Exhortations, that may persuade you to embrace Brotherly Love, and to continue in it. Let me apply myself to you of the lower Sort, and desire you will consider, when any of you make Use of fair and enticing Words to draw in Customers, whether you do it for their Sakes or your own. And then, for whose Sakes do you think it is, that your Leaders are so industrious to put into your Heads all that Party Rage and Virulence: Is it not to make you the Tools and Instruments by which they work out their own Designs? Has this Spirit of Faction been useful to any of you in your Worldly Concerns, except to those who have traded in Whispering, Back-biting, or Informing, and wanted Skill or Honesty to thrive by fairer Methods? It is no Business of yours to enquire who is at the Head of Armies, or of Councils, unless you had Power and Skill to chuse, neither of which is ever like to be your Case; and therefore, to fill your Heads with Fears, and Hatred of Persons and Things, of which it is impossible you can ever make a right Judgment, or to set you at Variance with your Neighbour, because his Thoughts are not the same as yours, is not only in a very gross Manner to cheat you of your Time and Quiet, but likewise to endanger your Souls.

SECONDLY, in order to restore Brotherly Love, let me earnestly exhort you to stand firm in your Religion, I mean the true Religion, hitherto established among us, without warping in the least, either to Popery on the one Side, or to Fanaticism on the other; and in a particular Manner beware of that Word, *Moderation*, and believe it, that your Neighbour is not immediately a Villain, a Papist, and a Traytor, because the Fanaticks will not allow him to be a moderate Man. Nay, it is very probable, that your Teacher himself may be a loyal, pious, and able Divine, without the least Grain of Moderation, as the Word is too frequently understood. Therefore, to set you right in this Matter, I will lay before you the Character of a truly moderate Man, and

then I will give you the Description of such an one who falsely pretendeth to that Title.

A MAN truly Moderate is steady in the Doctrine and Discipline of the Church, but with a due Christian Charity to all who dissent from it out of a Principle of Conscience; the Freedom of which, he thinketh, ought to be fully allowed, as long as it is not abused, but never trusted with Power. He is ready to defend, with his Life and Fortune, the Protestant Succession, and the Protestant established Faith, against all Invaders whatsoever. He is for giveing the Crown its just Prerogative, and the People their just Liberties. He hateth no Man for differing from him in Political Opinions; nor doth he think it a Maxim infallible, that Virtue should always attend upon Favour, and Vice upon Disgrace. These are some few Lineaments in the Character of a truly moderate Man: Let us now compare it with the Description of one who usually passeth under that Title.

A MODERATE Man, in the new Meaning of the Word, is one to whom all Religion is indifferent, who, although he denominateth himself of the Church, regardeth it no more than a Conventicle. He perpetually raileth at the Body of the Clergy, with Exceptions only to a very few, whom he hopeth, and probably upon false Grounds, are as ready to betray their Rights and Properties, as himself. He thinks the Power of the People can never be too great, nor that of the Prince too little; and yet this very Notion he publisheth, as his best Argument, to prove him a most loyal Subject. Every Opinion in Government, that differeth in the least from his, tendeth directly to Popery, Slavery, and Rebellion. Whoever lieth under the Frown of Power can, in his Judgment, neither have common Sense, common Honesty, nor Religion. Lastly, his Devotion consisteth in drinking Gibbets, Confusion, and Damnation; in profanely idolizing the Memory of one dead * Prince, and ungratefully trampling upon the Ashes of † another.

BY these Marks you will easily distinguish a truly moderate Man, from those who are commonly, but very falsely so called; and while Persons thus qualified are so numerous, and so noisy,

* *King* William III. † *Queen* Anne.

so full of Zeal, and Industry to gain Proselytes, and spread their Opinions among the People, it cannot be wondered that there should be so little Brotherly Love left among us.

LASTLY, it would probably contribute to restore some Degree of Brotherly Love, if we would but consider, that the Matter of those Disputes, which inflame us to this Degree, doth not, in its own Nature, at all concern the Generality of Mankind. Indeed, as to those who have been great Gainers or Losers, by the Changes of the World, the Case is different; and to preach Moderation to the first, and Patience to the other, would, perhaps, be to little Purpose: But, what is that to the Bulk of the People, who are not properly concerned in the Quarrel, although evil Instruments have drawn them into it? For, if the reasonable Men on both Sides were to confer Opinions, they would find that neither Religion, Loyalty, nor Interest, are at all affected in this Dispute. Not Religion, because the Members of the Church, on both Sides, profess to agree in every Article: Not Loyalty to our Prince, which is pretended to by one Party as much as the other; and therefore can be no Subject for Debate: Not Interest, for Trade and Industry lye open to all; and what is further, concerneth only those who have Expectations from the Publick; so that the Body of the People, if they knew their own Good, might yet live amicably together, and leave their Betters to quarrel among themselves, who might also, probably, soon come to a better Temper, if they were less seconded and supported by the poor deluded Multitude.

I HAVE now done with my Text, which I confess to have treated in a Manner more suited to the present Times, than to the Nature of the Subject in general. That I have not been more particular in explaining the several Parts and Properties of this great Duty of Brotherly Love, the Apostle to the *Thessalonians* will plead my Excuse. *As Touching Brotherly Love* (saith he) *ye need not, that I write unto you, for ye yourselves are taught of GOD, to love one another.* So that nothing remaineth to add, but our Prayers to GOD, that he would please to restore and continue this great Duty of Brotherly Love or Charity among us, the very Bond of Peace, and of all Virtues, without, *&c.*

ON
FALSE WITNESS.

EXODUS xx. 16.

Thou shalt not bear false Witness against thy Neighbour.

IN those great Changes that are made in a Country, by the prevailing of one Party over another, it is very convenient, that the Prince, and those who are in Authority under him, should use all just and proper Methods for preventing any Mischief to the Publick from seditious Men. And Governors do well, when they encourage any good Subject to discover (as his Duty obligeth him) whatever Plots or Conspiracies may be any Way dangerous to the State: Neither are they to be blamed, even when they receive Informations from bad Men, in order to find out the Truth, when it concerns the public Welfare. Every one indeed is naturally inclined to have an ill Opinion of an Informer; although it is not impossible, but an honest Man may be called by that Name. For whoever knoweth any Thing, the telling of which would prevent some great Evil to his Prince, his Country, or his Neighbour, is bound in Conscience to reveal it. But the Mischief is, that when Parties are violently enflamed, which seemeth unfortunately to be our Case at present, there is never wanting a Set of evil Instruments, who either out of mad Zeal, private Hatred, or filthy Lucre, are always ready to offer their Service to the prevailing Side, and become Accusers of their Brethren without any Regard to Truth or Charity. Holy *David* numbers this among the chief of his Sufferings; *False Witnesses are risen up against me, and such as breath out Cruelty**. Our Saviour and his Apostles did likewise undergo the same Distress, as we read both in the Gospels and the Acts.

* *Psal.* xxvii. 12.

Now because the Sin of false Witnessing is so horrible and dangerous in itself, and so odious to God and Man: And because the Bitterness of too many among us is risen to such an Height, that it is not easy to know where it will stop, or how far some weak and wicked Minds may be carried by a mistaken Zeal, a malicious Temper, or Hope of Reward, to break this great Commandment delivered in the Text: Therefore in order to prevent this Evil, and the Consequences of it, at least among you, who are my Hearers, I shall,

I. First, shew you several Ways by which a Man may be called a False Witness against his Neighbour.
II. Secondly, I shall give you some Rules for your Conduct and Behaviour, in order to defend yourselves against the Malice and Cunning of false Accusers.
III. And lastly, I shall conclude with shewing you very briefly, how far it is your Duty as good Subjects and good Neighbours, to bear faithful Witness, when you are lawfully called to it by those in Authority, or by the sincere Advice of your own Consciences.

I. As to the first, There are several Ways by which a Man may be justly called a false Witness against his Neighbour.

First, according to the direct Meaning of the Word, when a Man accuseth his Neighbour without the least Ground of Truth. So we read, *that* Jezabel *hired two Sons of* Belial *to accuse* Naboth *for blaspheming God and the King, for which, altho' he was entirely innocent, he was stoned to Death**. And, in our Age, it is not easy to tell how many Men have lost their Lives, being ruined in their Fortunes, and put to ignominious Punishment by the downright Perjury of false Witnesses! The Law itself in such Cases being not able to protect the Innocent. But this is so horrible a Crime, that it doth not need to be aggravated by Words.

A second Way by which a Man becometh a false Witness is, when he mixeth Falshood and Truth together, or concealeth

* 1 *Kings*, xxi. 13.

some Circumstances, which, if they were told, would destroy the Falshoods he uttereth. So the two false Witnesses who accused our Saviour before the Chief Priests, by a very little perverting his Words, would have made him guilty of a capital Crime; for so it was among the Jews to prophesy any Evil against the Temple. *This Fellow said, I am able to destroy the Temple of God, and to build it in three Days* *; whereas the Words, as our Saviour spoke them, were to another End, and differently expressed: For, when the Jews asked him to shew them a Sign, he said; *Destroy this Temple, and in three Days I will raise it up.* In such Cases as these, an innocent Man is half confounded, and looketh as if he were guilty, since he neither can deny his Words, nor perhaps readily strip them from the malicious Additions of a false Witness.

THIRDLY, a Man is a false Witness, when, in accusing his Neighbour, he endeavoureth to aggravate by his Gestures, and Tone of his Voice, or when he chargeth a Man with Words which were only repeated or quoted from Somebody else. As if any one should tell me that he heard another speak certain dangerous and seditious Speeches, and I should immediately accuse him for speaking them himself; and so drop the only Circumstance that made him innocent. This was the Case of St. *Stephen*. The false Witness said, *This Man ceaseth not to speak blasphemous Words against this Holy Place and the Law*†. Whereas St. *Stephen* said no such Words; but only repeated some Prophecies of *Jeremiah* or *Malachi*, which threatened *Jerusalem* with Destruction if it did not repent: However, by the Fury of the People, this innocent holy Person was stoned to Death for Words he never spoke.

FOURTHLY, the blackest Kind of false Witnesses are those who do the Office of the Devil, by tempting their Brethren in Order to betray them. I cannot call to Mind any Instances of this Kind mentioned in Holy Scripture. But I am afraid, this vile Practice hath been too much followed in the World. When a Man's Temper hath been so soured by Misfortunes and hard Usage, that perhaps he hath Reason enough to complain; then one of

* *Mat.* xxvi. 6. † *Acts* vi. 13.

these Seducers, under the Pretence of Friendship, will seem to lament his Case, urge the Hardships he hath suffered, and endeavour to raise his Passions until he hath said something, that a malicious Informer can pervert or aggravate against him in a Court of Justice.

FIFTHLY, whoever beareth Witness against his Neighbour, out of a Principle of Malice and Revenge, from any old Grudge, or Hatred to his Person; such a Man is a false Witness in the Sight of God, although what he says be true; because the Motive or Cause is evil, not to serve his Prince or Country, but to gratify his own Resentments. And therefore, although a Man thus accused may be very justly punished by the Law, yet this doth by no means acquit the Accuser, who, instead of regarding the public Service, intended only to glut his private Rage and Spight.

SIXTHLY, I number among false Witnesses, all those who make a Trade of being Informers in Hope of Favour and Reward; and to this End employ their Time, either by listening in publick Places, to catch up an accidental Word; or in corrupting Men's Servants to discover any unwary Expression of their Master; or thrusting themselves into Company, and then using the most indecent scurrilous Language; fastening a thousand Falshoods and Scandal upon a whole Party, on Purpose to provoke such an Answer as they may turn to an Accusation. And truly this ungodly Race is said to be grown so numerous, that Men of different Parties can hardly converse together with any Security. Even the Pulpit hath not been free from the Misrepresentation of these Informers; of whom the Clergy have not wanted Occasions to complain with Holy *David*. They daily mistake my Words, all they imagine is to do me Evil. Nor is it any Wonder at all, that this Trade of Informing should be now in a flourishing Condition, since our Case is manifestly thus; we are divided into two Parties, with very little Charity or Temper towards each other: The prevailing Side may talk of past Things as they please, with Security; and generally do it in the most provoking Words they can invent; while those who are down are sometimes tempted to speak in Favour of a lost Cause, and therefore, without great Caution, must needs be often caught tripping,

and thereby furnish Plenty of Materials for Witnesses and Informers.

Lastly, those may well be reckoned among false Witnesses against their Neighbour, who bring him into Trouble and Punishment by such Accusations as are of no Consequence at all to the Publick, nor can be of any other Use but to create Vexation. Such Witnesses are those, who cannot hear an idle intemperate Expression, but they must immediately run to the Magistrate to inform; or, perhaps, wrangling in their Cups over Night, when they were not able to speak or apprehend three Words of common Sense, will pretend to remember every Thing in the Morning, and think themselves very properly qualified to be the Accusers of their Brethren. God be thanked, the Throne of our * King is too firmly settled to be shaken by the Folly and Rashness of every sottish Companion. And, I do not in the least doubt, that when those in Power begin to observe the Falshood, the Prevarication, the aggravating Manner, the Treachery and Seducing, the Malice and Revenge, the Love of Lucre; and lastly, the trifling Accusations in too many wicked People, they will be as ready to discourage every Sort of those whom I have numbered among false Witnesses, as they will be to countenance honest Men, who, out of a true Zeal to their Prince and Country, do, in the Innocence of their Hearts, freely discover whatever they may apprehend to be dangerous to either. A good Christian will think it sufficient to reprove his Brother for a rash unguarded Word, where there is neither Danger nor evil Example to be apprehended; or, if he will not amend by Reproof, avoid his Conversation.

II. And thus much may serve to shew the several Ways whereby a Man may be said to be a false Witness against his Neighbour. I might have added one Kind more, and it is of those who inform against their Neighbour out of Fear of Punishment to themselves, which, although it be more excusable, and hath less of Malice than any of the rest, cannot however be justified. I go on therefore upon the second Head, to give you some Rules for

* George I.

your Conduct and Behaviour, in order to defend yourselves against the Malice and Cunning of false Accusers.

IT is readily agreed, that Innocence is the best Protection in the World; yet that is not always sufficient without some Degree of Prudence. Our Saviour himself intimateth to us, by instructing his Disciples *to be wise as Serpents, as well as innocent as Doves*. But, if ever Innocence be too weak a Defence, it is chiefly so in jealous and suspicious Times, when Factions are arrived to an high Pitch of Animosity, and the Minds of Men, instead of being warmed by a true Zeal for Religion, are enflamed only by Party Fury. Neither is Virtue itself a sufficient Security in such Times, because it is not allowed to be Virtue, otherwise than as it hath a Mixture of Party.

HOWEVER, although Virtue and Innocence are no infallible Defence against Perjury, Malice, and Subornation, yet they are great Supports for enabling us to bear those Evils with Temper and Resignation; and, it is an unspeakable Comfort to a good Man under the Malignity of evil mercenary Tongues, that a few Years will carry his Appeal to an higher Tribunal, where false Witnesses, instead of daring to bring Accusations before an all-seeing Judge, will call for Mountains to cover them. As for earthly Judges, they seldom have it in their Power; and, God knows, whether they have it in their Will, to mingle Mercy with Justice; they are so far from knowing the Hearts of the Accuser or the Accused, that they cannot know their own; and their Understanding is frequently biassed, although their Intentions be just. They are often prejudiced to Causes, Parties, and Persons, through the Infirmity of human Nature, without being sensible themselves that they are so: And therefore, although God may pardon their Errors here, he certainly will not ratify their Sentences hereafter.

HOWEVER, since, as we have before observed, our Saviour prescribeth to us to be not only harmless as Doves, but wise as Serpents; give me Leave to prescribe to you some Rules, which the most ignorant Person may follow for the Conduct of his Life, with Safety, in perilous Times against false Accusers.

1*st*, LET me advise you to have nothing at all to do with that

which is commonly called Politicks, or the Government of the World; in the Nature of which it is certain you are utterly ignorant; and when your Opinion is wrong, although it proceeds from Ignorance, it shall be an Accusation against you. Besides, Opinions in Government are right or wrong just according to the Disposition of the Times; and, unless you have Judgment to distinguish, you may be punished at one Time for what you would be rewarded for in another.

2*dly*, BE ready at all Times in your Words and Actions to shew your Loyalty to the King that reigns over you. This is the plain manifest Doctrine of holy Scripture, *Submit yourselves to every Ordinance of Man for the Lord's Sake, whether it be to the King as Supreme*, &c.* And another Apostle telleth us, *the Powers that be are ordained of God.* Kings are the Ordinances of Man by the Permission of God, and they are ordained of God by his Instrument Man. The Powers that be, the present Powers, which are ordained by God, and yet in some Sense are the Ordinances of Man, are what you must obey, without presuming to examine into Rights and Titles; neither can it be reasonably expected, that the Powers in Being, or in Possession, should suffer their Title to be publickly disputed by Subjects, without severe Punishment. And to say the Truth, there is no Duty in Religion more easy to the Generality of Mankind, than Obedience to Government: I say, to the Generality of Mankind; because while their Law, and Property, and Religion are preserved, it is of no great Consequence to them by whom they are governed, and therefore they are under no Temptations to desire a Change.

3*dly*, IN Order to prevent any Danger from the Malice of false Witnesses, be sure to avoid Intemperance. If it be often so hard for Men to govern their Tongues when they are in their right Senses, how can they hope to do it when they are heated with Drink? In those Cases most Men regard not what they say, and too many not what they swear; neither will a Man's Memory disordered with Drunkenness serve to defend himself, or satisfy him whether he were guilty or no.

* 1 *Pet.* ii. 13.

4*thly*, AVOID, as much as possible, the Conversation of those People, who are given to talk of publick Persons and Affairs, especially of those whose Opinions in such Matters are different from yours. I never once knew any Disputes of this Kind managed with tolerable Temper; but on both Sides they only agree as much as possible to provoke the Passions of each other, indeed with this Disadvantage, that he who argueth on the Side of Power may speak securely the utmost his Malice can invent; while the other lieth every Moment at the Mercy of an Informer; and the Law in these Cases will give no Allowance at all for Passion, Inadvertency, or the highest Provocation.

I COME now in the last Place to shew you how far it is your Duty as good Subjects and good Neighbours to bear faithful Witness, when you are lawfully called to it by those in Authority, or by the sincere Advice of your own Consciences.

IN what I have hitherto said, you easily find, that I do not talk of bearing Witness in general, which is and may be lawful upon a thousand Accounts in Relation to Property and other Matters, and wherein there are many scandalous Corruptions, almost peculiar to this Country, which would require to be handled by themselves: But I have confined my Discourse only to that Branch of bearing false Witness, whereby the Publick is injured in the Safety or Honour of the Prince, or those in Authority under him.

IN Order therefore to be a faithful Witness, it is first necessary that a Man doth not undertake it from the least Prospect of any private Advantage to himself. The smallest Mixture of that Leven will sour the whole Lump. Interest will infallibly bias his Judgment, although he be ever so firmly resolved to say nothing but Truth. He cannot serve God and Mammon; but as Interest is his chief End, he will use the most effectual Means to advance it. He will aggravate Circumstances to make his Testimony valuable; he will be sorry if the Person he accuseth should be able to clear himself; in short he is labouring a Point which he thinks necessary to his own Good; and it would be a Disappointment to him, that his Neighbour should prove innocent.

5*thly*, EVERY good Subject is obliged to bear Witness against his Neighbour, for any Action or Words, the telling of which

would be of Advantage to the Publick, and the Concealment dangerous, or of ill Example. Of this Nature are all Plots and Conspiracies against the Peace of a Nation, all disgraceful Words against a Prince, such as clearly discover a disloyal and rebellious Heart: But, where our Prince and Country can possibly receive no Damage or Disgrace; where no Scandal or ill Example is given; and our Neighbour, it may be, provoked by us, happeneth privately to drop a rash or indiscreet Word, which in Strictness of Law might bring him under Trouble, perhaps to his utter undoing; there we are obliged, we ought, to proceed no further than Warning and Reproof.

In describing to you the several Kinds of false Witnesses, I have made it less necessary to dwell much longer upon this Head; because a faithful Witness, like every Thing else, is known by his contrary: Therefore it would be only Repetition of what I have already said to tell you, that the strictest Truth is required in a Witness; that he should be wholely free from the least Malice against the Person he accuses; that he should not aggravate the smallest Circumstance against the Criminal, nor conceal the smallest in his Favour; and to crown all, though I have hinted it before, that the only Cause or Motive of his Undertaking an Office, so subject to Censure, and so difficult to perform, should be the Safety and Service of his Prince and Country.

Under these Conditions and Limitations (but not otherwise) there is no Manner of Doubt, but a good Man may lawfully and justly become a Witness in Behalf of the Publick, and may perform that Office (in its own Nature not very desirable) with Honour and Integrity. For the Command in the Text is positive as well as negative; that is to say, as we are directed not to bear false Witness against our Neighbour, so we are to bear true. Next to the Word of God, and the Advice of Teachers, every Man's Conscience strictly examined will be his best Director in this weighty Point; and to that I shall leave him.

It might perhaps be thought proper to have added something by Way of Advice to those who are unhappily engaged in this abominable Trade and Sin of bearing false Witness; but I am far from believing or supposing any of that destructive Tribe are

now my Hearers. I look upon them as a Sort of People that seldom frequent these holy Places, where they can hardly pick up any Materials to serve their Turn, unless they think it worth their while to misrepresent or pervert the Words of the Preacher: And, whoever is that Way disposed, I doubt, cannot be in a very good Condition to edify and reform himself by what he heareth. God in his Mercy preserve us from all the Guilt of this grievous Sin forbidden in my Text, and from the Snares of those who are guilty of it.

I SHALL conclude with one or two Precepts given by *Moses* from God to the Children of *Israel*, in the 23d of *Exod.* 1, 2.

Thou shalt not raise a false Report: Put not thine Hand with the Wicked, to be an unrighteous Witness.

Thou shalt not follow a Multitude to do Evil, neither shalt thou speak in a Cause to decline after many, to wrest Judgment.

Now to God the Father, *&c.*

ON THE
Poor Man's CONTENTMENT.

PHILIP. Chap. iv. Part of the 11th Ver.

I have learned, in whatsoever State I am, therewith to be content.

THE holy Scripture is full of Expressions to set forth the miserable Condition of Man during the whole Progress of his Life; his Weakness, Pride, and Vanity; his unmeasurable Desires, and perpetual Disappointments; the Prevalency of his Passions, and the Corruptions of his Reason; his deluding Hopes, and his real, as well as imaginary Fears; his natural and artificial Wants; his Cares and Anxieties; the Diseases of his Body, and the Diseases of his Mind; the Shortness of his Life; his Dread of a future State, with his Carelessness to prepare for it: And the wise Men of all Ages have made the same Reflections.

BUT all these are general Calamities, from which none are excepted; and, being without Remedy, it is vain to bewail them. The great Question, long debated in the World is, whether the Rich or the Poor are the least miserable of the two? It is certain, that no rich Man ever desired to be poor, and that most, if not all, poor Men desire to be rich; from whence it may be argued, that, in all Appearance, the Advantage lieth on the Side of Wealth, because both Parties agree in preferring it before Poverty. But this Reasoning will be found to be false: For, I lay it down as a certain Truth, that God Almighty hath placed all Men upon an equal Foot, with respect to their Happiness in this World, and the Capacity of attaining their Salvation in the next; or, at least, if there be any Difference, it is not the Advantage of the Rich and the Mighty. Now, since a great Part of those, who usually make up our Congregations, are not of considerable Station, and many among them of the lower Sort, and since the meaner People are generally and justly charged with the Sin of Repining and Murmuring at their own Condition, to which, however, their Betters

are sufficiently subject, (although, perhaps, for Shame, not always so loud in their Complaints) I thought it might be useful to reason upon this Point in as plain a Manner as I can. I shall therefore shew, first, that the Poor enjoy many temporal Blessings, which are not common to the Rich and the Great. And, likewise, that the Rich and the Great are subject to many temporal Evils, which are not common to the Poor.

But, here I would not be misunderstood; perhaps, there is not a Word more abused than that of the Poor, or wherein the World is more generally mistaken. Among the Number of those who beg in our Streets, or are half starved at Home, or languish in Prison for Debt, there is hardly one in a hundred who doth not owe his Misfortunes to his own Laziness or Drunkenness, or worse Vices.

To these he owes those very Diseases which often disable him from getting his Bread. Such Wretches are deservedly unhappy; they can only blame themselves; and when we are commanded to have Pity on the Poor, these are not understood to be of the Number.

It is true, indeed, that sometimes honest, endeavouring Men are reduced to extreme Want, even to the Begging of Alms, by Losses, by Accidents, by Diseases, and old Age, without any Fault of their own: But these are very few, in Comparison of the other; nor would their Support be any sensible Burthen to the Publick, if the Charity of well-disposed Persons were not intercepted by those common Strollers, who are most importunate, and who least deserve it. These, indeed, are properly and justly called the Poor, whom it should be our Study to find out and distinguish, by making them partake of our Superfluity and Abundance.

But neither have these any Thing to do with my present Subject: For by the Poor I only intend the honest, industrious Artificer, the meaner Sort of Tradesmen, and the labouring Man, who getteth his Bread by the Sweat of his Brow, in Town or Country, and who make the Bulk of Mankind among us.

First, I shall therefore shew, first, that the Poor (in the Sense I understand the Word) do enjoy many temporal Blessings,

which are not common to the Rich and Great; and likewise, that the Rich and Great are subject to many temporal Evils, which are not common to the Poor.

Secondly, From the Arguments offered to prove the foregoing Head, I shall draw some Observations that may be useful for your Practice.

1. As to the first: Health, we know, is generally allowed to be the best of all earthly Possessions, because it is that, without which we can have no Satisfaction in any of the rest, For Riches are of no Use, if Sickness taketh from us the Ability of enjoying them, and Power and Greatness are then only a Burthen. Now, if we would look for Health, it must be in the humble Habitation of the labouring Man, or industrious Artificer, who earn their Bread by the Sweat of their Brows, and usually live to a good old Age with a great Degree of Strength and Vigour.

The Refreshment of the Body by Sleep is another great Happiness of the meaner Sort. Their Rest is not disturbed by the Fear of Thieves and Robbers, nor is it interrupted by Surfeits of Intemperance. Labour and plain Food supply the Want of quieting Draughts; and the wise Man telleth us, that the Sleep of the Labouring Man is sweet. As to Children, which are certainly accounted of as a Blessing, even to the Poor, where Industry is not wanting; they are an Assistance to their honest Parents, instead of being a Burthen; they are healthy and strong, and fit for Labour; neither is the Father in Fear, lest his Heir should be ruined by an unequal Match; nor is he sollicitous about his rising in the World, further than to be able to get his Bread.

The poorer Sort are not the Objects of general Hatred or Envy; they have no Twinges of Ambition, nor trouble themselves with Party-Quarrels, or State Divisions. The idle Rabble, who follow their ambitious Leaders in such Cases, do not fall within my Description of the poorer Sort; for, it is plain, I mean only the honest industrious Poor in Town or Country, who are safest in Times of publick Disturbance, in perilous Seasons, and publick Revolutions, if they will be quiet, and do their own Business; For Artificers and Husbandmen are necessary in all

Governments: But in such Seasons, the Rich are the publick Mark, because they are oftentimes of no Use, but to be plundered; like some Sort of Birds, who are good for nothing but their Feathers; and so fall a Prey to the strongest Side.

Let us proceed on the other Side to examine the Disadvantages that the Rich and the Great lye under, with Respect to the Happiness of the present Life.

First then; While Health, as we have said, is the general Portion of the lower Sort, the Gout, the Dropsy, the Stone, the Cholick, and all other Diseases are continually haunting the Palaces of the Rich and the Great, as the natural Attendants upon Laziness and Luxury. Neither does the Rich Man eat his sumptuous Fare with half the Appetite and Relish, that even the Beggars do the Crumbs which fall from his Table: But, on the contrary, he is full of Loathing and Disgust, or at the best of Indifference in the Midst of Plenty. Thus their Intemperance shortens their Lives, without pleaseing their Appetites.

Business, Fear, Guilt, Design, Anguish, and Vexation are continually buzzing about the Curtains of the Rich and the Powerful, and will hardly suffer them to close their Eyes, unless when they are dozed with the Fumes of strong Liquors.

It is a great Mistake to imagine, that the Rich want but a few Things; their Wants are more numerous, more craving, and urgent, than those of poorer Men: For these endeavour only at the Necessaries of Life, which make them happy, and they think no farther: but the Desire of Power and Wealth is endless, and therefore impossible to be satisfied with any Acquisitions.

If Riches were so great a Blessing as they are commonly thought, they would at least have this Advantage, to give their Owners chearful Hearts and Countenances; they would often stir them up to express their Thankfulness to God, and discover their Satisfaction to the World. But, in Fact, the contrary to all this is true. For where are there more cloudy Brows, more melancholy Hearts, or more Ingratitude to their great Benefactor, than among those who abound in Wealth. And indeed, it is natural that it should be so, because those Men who covet Things that are hard to be got, must be hard to please; whereas a small Thing

maketh a poor Man happy; and great Losses cannot befall him.

It is likewise worth considering, how few among the Rich have procured their Wealth by just Measures; how many owe their Fortunes to the Sins of their Parents, how many more to their own? If Men's Titles were to be tried before a true Court of Conscience, where false swearing, and a thousand vile Artifices, (that are well known, and can hardly be avoided in human Courts of Justice) would avail nothing; how many would be ejected with Infamy and Disgrace? how many grow considerable by Breach of Trust, by Bribery and Corruption? How many have sold their Religion, with the Rights and Liberties of themselves and others, for Power and Employments?

And, it is a Mistake to think, that the most hardned Sinner, who oweth his Possessions or Titles to any such wicked Arts of Thieving, can have true Peace of Mind, under the Reproaches of a guilty Conscience, and amidst the Cries of ruined Widows and Orphans.

I know not one real Advantage that the Rich have over the Poor, except the Power of doing Good to others: But this is an Advantage which God hath not given wicked Men the Grace to make Use of. The Wealth acquired by evil Means was never employed to good Ends; for that would be to divide the Kingdom of Satan against itself. Whatever hath been gained by Fraud, Avarice, Oppression, and the like, must be preserved and increased by the same Methods.

I shall add but one Thing more upon this Head, which I hope will convince you, that God (whose Thoughts are not as our Thoughts) never intended Riches or Power to be necessary for the Happiness of Mankind in this Life; because it is certain, that there is not one single good Quality of the Mind absolutely necessary to obtain them, where Men are resolved to be rich at any Rate; neither Honour, Justice, Temperance, Wisdom, Religion, Truth, or Learning; for a slight Acquaintance with the World will inform us, that there have been many Instances of Men in all Ages, who have arrived at great Possessions and great Dignities, by Cunning, Fraud, or Flattery, without any of these,

or any other Virtues that can be named. Now, if Riches and Greatness were such Blessings, that good Men without them could have their Share of Happiness in this Life; how cometh it to pass, that God should suffer them to be often dealt to the worst, and most profligate of Mankind? That they should be generally procured by the most abominable Means, and applied to the basest and most wicked Uses? This ought not to be conceived of a just, a merciful, a wise, and Almighty Being. We must therefore conclude, that Wealth and Power are in their own Nature, at best, but Things indifferent, and that a good Man may be equally happy without them, provided that he hath a Sufficiency of the common Blessings of human Life to answer all the reasonable and virtuous Demands of Nature, which his Industry will provide, and Sobriety will prevent his wanting. *Agur's* Prayer, with the Reasons of his Wish, are full to this Purpose. 'Give me neither Poverty nor Riches; Feed me with Food con-'venient for me. Lest I be full and deny thee, and say, Who is the 'Lord? Or, lest I be poor, and steal, and take the Name of my 'God in vain.'

From what hath been said, I shall, in the second Place, offer some Considerations, that may be useful for your Practice.

And here I shall apply myself chiefly to those of the lower Sort, for whose Comfort and Satisfaction this Discourse is principally intended. For, having observed the great Sin of those, who do not abound in Wealth, to be that of murmuring and repining, that God hath dealt his Blessings unequally to the Sons of Men, I thought it would be of great Use to remove out of your Minds so false and wicked an Opinion, by shewing that your Condition is really happier than most of you imagine.

First, therefore, it hath been always agreed in the World, that the present Happiness of Mankind consisted in the Ease of our Body and the Quiet of our Mind; but, from what hath been already said, it plainly appears, that neither Wealth nor Power do in any Sort contribute to either of these two Blessings. If on the contrary, by multiplying our Desires, they increase our Discontents; if they destroy our Health, gall us with painful Diseases, and shorten our Life; if they expose us to Hatred, to Envy, to

Censure, to a thousand Temptations, it is not easy to see why a wise Man should make them his Choice, for their own Sake, although it were in his Power. Would any of you, who are in Health and Strength of Body, with moderate Food and Raiment earned by your own Labour, rather chuse to be in the Rich Man's Bed, under the Torture of the Gout, unable to take your natural Rest, or natural Nourishment, with the additional Load of a guilty Conscience, reproaching you for Injustice, Oppressions, Covetousness, and Fraud? No; but you would take the Riches and Power, and leave behind the Inconveniencies that attend them; and so would every Man living. But that is more than our Share, and God never intended this World for such a Place of Rest as we would make it; for the Scripture assureth us, that it was only designed as a Place of Trial. Nothing is more frequent, than a Man to wish himself in another's Condition; yet he seldom doth it without some Reserve: He would not be so old; he would not be so sickly; he would not be so cruel; he would not be so insolent; he would not be so vicious; he would not be so oppressive; so griping; and so on. From whence it is plain, that, in their own Judgment, Men are not so unequally dealt with, as they would at first Sight imagine: For, if I would not change my Condition with another Man, without any Exception or Reservation at all, I am in Reality more happy than he.

Secondly, you of the meaner Sort are subject to fewer Temptations than the Rich; and therefore your Vices are more unpardonable. Labour subdueth your Appetites to be satisfied with common Things; the Business of your several Callings filleth up your whole Time; so that Idleness, which is the Bane and Destruction of Virtue, doth not lead you into the Neighbourhood of Sin: Your Passions are cooler, by not being inflamed with Excess, and therefore the Gate and the Way that lead to Life are not so strait or so narrow to you, as to those who live among all the Allurements to Wickedness. To serve God with the best of your Care and Understanding, and to be just and true in your Dealings, is the short Sum of your Duty and will be the more strictly required of you, because nothing lieth in the Way to divert you from it.

THIRDLY, It is plain, from what I have said, that you of the lower Rank have no just Reason to complain of your Condition; because, as you plainly see, it affordeth you so many Advantages, and freeth you from so many Vexations, so many Distempers, both of Body and Mind, which pursue and torment the Rich and powerful.

FOURTHLY, you are to remember and apply, that the poorest Person is not excused from doing Good to others, and even relieving the Wants of his distressed Neighbour, according to his Abilities; and if you perform your Duty in this Point, you far outdo the greatest Liberalities of the Rich, and will accordingly be accepted of by God, and get your Reward: For, it is our Saviour's own Doctrine, when the Widow gave her two Mites. The Rich give out of their Abundance; that is to say, what they give, they do not feel it in their Way of Living: But the poor Man, who giveth out of his little Stock, must spare it from the necessary Food and Raiment of himself and his Family. And therefore our Saviour adds, 'That the Widow gave more than 'all who went before her; for she gave all she had, even all her 'Living;' and so went home utterly unprovided to supply her Necessities.

LASTLY, As it appeareth from what hath been said, that you of the lower Rank have, in Reality, a greater Share of Happiness, your Work of Salvation is easier, by your being liable to fewer Temptations; and as your Reward in Heaven is much more certain, than it is to the Rich, if you seriously perform your Duty, for Yours is the Kingdom of Heaven; so your Neglect of it will be less excusable, will meet with fewer Allowances from God, and will be punished with double Stripes. For, the most unknowing among you cannot plead Ignorance in what you have been so early taught, I hope, so often instructed in, and which is so easy to be understood, I mean the Art of leading a Life agreeable to the plain and positive Laws of God. Perhaps you may think you lie under one Disadvantage, which the Great and Rich have not; that Idleness will certainly reduce you to Beggary; whereas those who abound in Wealth, lie under no Necessity either of Labour or Temperance to keep enough to live on. But

this is indeed one Part of your Happiness, that the Lowness of your Condition, in a Manner, forceth you to what is pleasing to God, and necessary for your daily Support. Thus your Duty and Interest are always the same.

To conclude; since our blessed Lord, who instead of a rich and honourable Station in this World, was pleased to chuse his Lot among Men of the lower Condition; let not those on whom the Bounty of Providence hath bestowed Wealth and Honours, despise the Men who are placed in an humble and inferior Station; but rather, with their utmost Power, by their Countenance, by their Protection, by just Payment for their honest Labour, encourage their daily Endeavours for the virtuous Support of themselves and their Families. On the other Hand, let the Poor labour to provide Things honest in the Sight of all Men; and so, with Diligence in their several Employments, live soberly, righteously and godly in this present World, that they may obtain that glorious Reward promised in the Gospel to the Poor, I mean, the Kingdom of Heaven.

Now to God the Father, &c.

CAUSES

OF THE

WRETCHED CONDITION

OF

IRELAND.

Psalm CXLIV. Part of the 13th and 14th Ver.

That there be no Complaining in our Streets. Happy is the People that is in such a Case.

IT is a very melancholy Reflection, that such a Country as ours, which is capable of producing all Things necessary, and most Things convenient for Life, sufficient for the Support of four Times the Number of its Inhabitants, should yet lye under the heaviest Load of Misery and Want, our Streets crouded with Beggars, so many of our lower Sort of Tradesmen, Labourers and Artificers, not able to find Cloaths and Food for their Families.

I THINK it may therefore be of some Use, to lay before you the chief Causes of this wretched Condition we are in, and then it will be easier to assign what Remedies are in our Power towards removing, at least, some Part of these Evils.

FOR it is ever to be lamented, that we lie under many Disadvantages, not by our own Faults, which are peculiar to ourselves, and which no other Nation under Heaven hath any Reason to complain of.

I SHALL, therefore first mention some Causes of our Miseries, which I doubt are not to be remedied, until God shall put it in the Hearts of those who are the stronger, to allow us the common

Rights and Privileges of Brethren, Fellow-Subjects, and even of Mankind.

THE first Cause of our Misery is the intolerable Hardships we lie under in every Branch of our Trade, by which we are become as *Hewers of Wood, and Drawers of Water*, to our rigorous Neighbours.

THE second Cause of our miserable State is the Folly, the Vanity, and Ingratitude of those vast Numbers, who think themselves too good to live in the Country which gave them Birth, and still gives them Bread; and rather chuse to pass their Days, and consume their Wealth, and draw out the very Vitals of their Mother Kingdom, among those who heartily despise them.

THESE I have but lightly touched on, because I fear they are not to be redressed, and, besides, I am very sensible how ready some People are to take Offence at the honest Truth; and, for that Reason, I shall omit several other Grievances, under which we are long likely to groan.

I SHALL therefore go on to relate some other Causes of this Nation's Poverty, by which, if they continue much longer, it must infallibly sink to utter Ruin.

THE first is, that monstrous Pride and Vanity in both Sexes, especially the weaker Sex, who, in the Midst of Poverty, are suffered to run into all Kind of Expence and Extravagance in Dress, and particularly priding themselves to wear nothing but what cometh from Abroad, disdaining the Growth or Manufacture of their own Country, in those Articles where they can be better served at Home with half the Expence; and this is grown to such a Height, that they will carry the whole yearly Rent of a good Estate at once on their Body. And, as there is in that Sex a Spirit of Envy, by which they cannot endure to see others in a better Habit than themselves; so those, whose Fortunes can hardly support their Families in the Necessaries of Life, will needs vye with the Richest and Greatest amongst us, to the Ruin of themselves and their Posterity.

NEITHER are the Men less guilty of this pernicious Folly, who, in Imitation of a Gaudiness and Foppery of Dress, introduced of late Years into our neighbouring Kingdom, (as Fools are apt to

imitate only the Defects of their Betters) cannot find Materials in their own Country worthy to adorn their Bodies of Clay, while their Minds are naked of every valuable Quality.

THUS our Tradesmen and Shopkeepers, who deal in Home-Goods, are left in a starving Condition, and only those encouraged who ruin the Kingdom by importing among us foreign Vanities.

ANOTHER Cause of our low Condition is our great Luxury, the chief Support of which is the Materials of it brought to the Nation in Exchange for the few valuable Things left us, whereby so many thousand Families want the very Necessaries of Life.

THIRDLY, in most Parts of this Kingdom the Natives are from their Infancy so given up to Idleness and Sloth, that they often chuse to beg or steal, rather than support themselves with their own Labour; they marry without the least View or Thought of being able to make any Provision for their Families; and whereas, in all industrious Nations, Children are looked on as a Help to their Parents, with us, for want of being early trained to work, they are an intolerable Burthen at Home, and a grievous Charge upon the Public, as appeareth from the vast Number of ragged and naked Children in Town and Country, led about by stroling Women, trained up in Ignorance and all Manner of Vice.

LASTLY, A great Cause of this Nation's Misery, is that *Ægyptian* Bondage of cruel, oppressing, covetous Landlords, expecting that all who live under them should *make Bricks without Straw*, who grieve and envy when they see a Tenant of their own in a whole Coat, or able to afford one comfortable Meal in a Month, by which the Spirits of the People are broken, and made for Slavery; the Farmers and Cottagers, almost through the whole Kingdom, being to all Intents and Purposes as real Beggars, as any of those to whom we give our Charity in the Streets. And these cruel Landlords are every Day unpeopling their Kingdom, by forbidding their miserable Tenants to till the Earth, against common Reason and Justice, and contrary to the Practice and Prudence of all other Nations, by which numberless Families have been forced either to leave the Kingdom, or stroll about, and increase the Number of our Thieves and Beggars.

Such, and much worse, is our Condition at present, if I had Leisure or Liberty to lay it before you; and, therefore, the next Thing which might be considered is, whether there may be any probable Remedy found, at the least against some Part of these Evils; for most of them are wholely desperate.

But this being too large a Subject to be now handled, and the Intent of my Discourse confining me to give some Directions concerning the Poor of this City, I shall keep myself within those Limits. It is indeed in the Power of the Lawgivers to found a School in every Parish of the Kingdom, for teaching the meaner and poorer Sort of Children to speak and read the English Tongue, and to provide a reasonable Maintenance for the Teachers. This would, in Time, abolish that Part of Barbarity and Ignorance, for which our Natives are so despised by all Foreigners; this would bring them to think and act according to the Rules of Reason, by which a Spirit of Industry, and Thrift, and Honesty, would be introduced among them. And, indeed, considering how small a Tax would suffice for such a Work, it is a publick Scandal that such a Thing should never have been endeavoured, or, perhaps, so much as thought on.

To supply the Want of such a Law, several pious Persons, in many Parts of this Kingdom, have been prevailed on, by the great Endeavours and good Example set them by the Clergy, to erect Charity-Schools in several Parishes, to which very often the richest Parishioners contribute the least. In these Schools, Children are, or ought to be, trained up to read and write, and cast Accompts; and these Children should, if possible, be of honest Parents, gone to Decay through Age, Sickness, or other unavoidable Calamity, by the Hand of God; not the Brood of wicked Strolers; for it is by no means reasonable, that the Charity of well-inclined People should be applied to encourage the Lewdness of those profligate, abandoned Women, who croud our Streets with their borrowed or spurious Issue.

In those Hospitals which have good Foundations and Rents to support them, whereof, to the Scandal of Christianity, there are very few in this Kingdom; I say, in such Hospitals, the Children maintained, ought to be only of decayed Citizens, and Freemen,

and be bred up to good Trades. But in these small Parish Charity Schools which have no Support, but the casual good Will of charitable People, I do altogether disapprove the Custom of putting the Children 'Prentice, except to the very meanest Trades; otherwise the poor honest Citizen who is just able to bring up his Child, and pay a small Sum of Money with him to a good Master, is wholely defeated, and the Bastard Issue, perhaps, of some Beggar, preferred before him. And hence we come to be so over-stocked with 'Prentices and Journeymen, more than our discouraged Country can employ; and, I fear, the greatest Part of our Thieves, Pickpockets, and other Vagabonds are of this Number.

THEREFORE, in order to make these Parish Charity Schools of great and universal Use, I agree with the Opinion of many wise Persons, that a new Turn should be given to this whole Matter.

I THINK there is no Complaint more just than what we find in almost every Family, of the Folly and Ignorance, the Fraud and Knavery, the Idleness and Viciousness, the wasteful squandering Temper of Servants, who are, indeed, become one of the many publick Grievances of the Kingdom; whereof, I believe, there are few Masters that now hear me, who are not convinced by their own Experience. And I am very confident, that more Families, of all Degrees, have been ruined by the Corruptions of Servants, than by all other Causes put together. Neither is this to be wondered at, when we consider from what Nurseries so many of them are received into our Houses. The first is the Tribe of wicked Boys, wherewith most Corners of this Town are pestered, who haunt publick Doors. These, having been born of Beggars, and bred to pilfer as soon as they can go or speak, as Years come on, are employed in the lowest Offices to get themselves Bread, are practised in all Manner of Villainy, and when they are grown up, if they are not entertained in a Gang of Thieves, are forced to seek for a Service. The other Nursery is the barbarous and desert Part of the Country, from whence such Lads come up hither to seek their Fortunes, who are bred up from the Dunghill in Idleness, Ignorance, Lying, and Thieving. From these two Nurseries, I say, a great Number of our Servants come to us, sufficient to

corrupt all the rest. Thus, the whole Race of Servants in this Kingdom have gotten so ill a Reputation, that some Persons from *England*, come over hither into great Stations, are said to have absolutely refused admitting any Servant born among us into their Families. Neither can they be justly blamed; for, although it is not impossible to find an honest Native fit for a good Service, yet the Enquiry is too troublesome, and the Hazard too great for a Stranger to attempt.

If we consider the many Misfortunes that befal private Families, it will be found that Servants are the Causes and Instruments of them all: Are our Goods embezzled, wasted, and destroyed? Is our House burnt down to the Ground? It is by the Sloth, the Drunkenness or the Villainy of Servants. Are we robbed and murdered in our Beds? It is by Confederacy with our Servants. Are we engaged in Quarrels and Misunderstandings with our Neighbours? These were all begun and inflamed by the false, malicious Tongues of our Servants. Are the Secrets of our Family betrayed, and evil Repute spread of us? Our Servants were the Authors. Do false Accusers rise up against us? (an Evil too frequent in this Country) they have been tampering with our Servants. Do our Children discover Folly, Malice, Pride, Cruelty, Revenge, Undutifulness in their Words and Actions? Are they seduced to Lewdness or scandalous Marriages? It is all by our Servants. Nay, the very Mistakes, Follies, Blunders, and Absurdities of those in our Service, are able to ruffle and discompose the mildest Nature, and are often of such Consequence, as to put whole Families into Confusion.

Since therefore not only our domestick Peace and Quiet, and the Welfare of our Children, but even the very Safety of our Lives, Reputations, and Fortunes have so great a Dependence upon the Choice of our Servants, I think it would well become the Wisdom of the Nation to make some Provision in so important an Affair: But, in the mean Time, and perhaps, to better Purpose, it were to be wished, that the Children of both Sexes, entertained in the Parish Charity-Schools, were bred up in such a Manner as would give them a teachable Disposition, and qualify them to learn whatever is required in any Sort of Service. For

Instance, they should be taught to read and write, to know somewhat in casting Accompts, to understand the Principles of Religion, to practise Cleanliness, to get a Spirit of Honesty, Industry, and Thrift, and be severely punished for every Neglect in any of these Particulars. For, it is the Misfortune of Mankind, that if they are not used to be taught in their early Childhood, whereby to acquire what I call a teachable Disposition, they cannot, without great Difficulty, learn the easiest Thing in the Course of their Lives, but are always aukward and unhandy; their Minds, as well as Bodies, for want of early Practice, growing stiff and unmanageable, as we observe in the Sort of Gentlemen, who, kept from School by the Indulgence of their Parents but a few Years, are never able to recover the Time they have lost, and grow up in Ignorance and all Manner of Vice, whereof we have too many Examples all over the Nation. But to return to what I was saying: If these Charity-Children were trained up in the Manner I mentioned, and then bound Apprentices in the Families of Gentlemen and Citizens, (for which a late Law giveth great Encouragement) being accustomed from their first Entrance to be always learning some useful Thing, they would learn in a Month more than another, without those Advantages can do in a Year; and, in the mean Time, be very useful in a Family, as far as their Age and Strength would allow. And when such Children come to Years of Discretion, they will probably be a useful Example to their Fellow Servants, at least they will prove a strong Check upon the rest; for, I suppose, every Body will allow, that one good, honest, diligent Servant in a House may prevent Abundance of Mischief in the Family.

THESE are the Reasons for which I urge this Matter so strongly, and I hope those who listen to me will consider them.

I SHALL now say something about that great Number of Poor, who, under the Name of common Beggars, infest our Streets, and fill our Ears with their continual Cries, and craving Importunity. This I shall venture to call an unnecessary Evil, brought upon us for the gross Neglect, and want of proper Management, in those whose Duty it is to prevent it: But, before I proceed farther, let me humbly presume to vindicate the Justice and

Mercy of God and his Dealings with Mankind. Upon this Particular He hath not dealt so hardly with his Creatures as some would imagine, when they see so many miserable Objects ready to perish for Want: For it would infallibly be found, upon strict Enquiry, that there is hardly one in twenty of those miserable Objects who do not owe their present Poverty to their own Faults; to their present Sloth and Negligence; to their indiscreet Marriage without the least Prospect of supporting a Family, to their foolish Expensiveness, to their Drunkenness, and other Vices, by which they have squandered their Gettings, and contracted Diseases in their old Age. And, to speak freely, is it any Way reasonable or just, that those who have denied themselves many lawful Satisfactions and Conveniencies of Life, from a Principle of Conscience, as well as Prudence, that they might not be a Burthen to the Public, should be charged with supporting Others, who have brought themselves to less than a Morsel of Bread by their Idleness, Extravagance, and Vice? Yet such and no other, are for the greatest Number not only in those who beg in our Streets, but even of what we call poor decayed House-keepers, whom we are apt to pity as real Objects of Charity, and distinguish them from common Beggars, although, in Truth, they both owe their Undoing to the same Causes; only the former is either too nicely bred to endure walking half naked in the Streets, or too proud to own their Wants. For the Artificer or other Tradesman, who pleadeth he is grown too old to work or look after Business, and therefore expecteth Assistance as a decayed House-keeper; may we not ask him, why he did not take Care, in his Youth and Strength of Days, to make some Provision against old Age, when he saw so many Examples before him of People undone by their Idleness and vicious Extravagance? And to go a little higher; whence cometh it that so many Citizens and Shopkeepers, of the most creditable Trade, who once made a good Figure, go to Decay by their expensive Pride and Vanity, affecting to educate and dress their Children above their Abilities, or the State of Life they ought to expect?

However, since the best of us have too many Infirmities to answer for, we ought not to be severe upon those of others; and,

therefore, if our Brother, thro' Grief, or Sickness, or other Incapacity, is not in a Condition to preserve his Being, we ought to support him to the best of our Power, without reflecting over seriously on the Causes that brought him to his Misery. But in order to this, and to turn our Charity into its proper Channel, we ought to consider who and where those Objects are, whom it is chiefly incumbent upon us to support.

By the antient Law of this Realm, still in Force, every Parish is obliged to maintain its own Poor, which although some may think to be not very equal, because many Parishes are very rich, and have few Poor among them, and others the contrary; yet, I think, may be justly defended: For, as to remote Country Parishes in the desart Parts of the Kingdom, the Necessaries of Life are there so cheap, that the infirm Poor may be provided for with little Burden to the Inhabitants. But in what I am going to say, I shall confine myself only to this City, where we are over-run, not only with our own Poor, but with a far greater Number from every Part of the Nation. Now, I say, this Evil of being encumbered with so many foreign Beggars, who have not the least Title to our Charity, and whom it is impossible for us to support, may be easily remedied, if the Government of this City, in Conjunction with the Clergy and Parish Officers, would think it worth their Care; and I am sure few Things deserve it better. For, if every Parish would take a List of those begging Poor which properly belong to it, and compel each of them to wear a Badge, marked and numbered, so as to be seen and known by all they meet, and confine them to beg within the Limits of their own Parish, severely punishing them when they offend, and driving out all Interlopers from other Parishes, we could then make a Computation of their Numbers; and the Strolers from the Country being driven away, the Remainder would not be too many for the Charity of those who pass by, to maintain; neither would any Beggar, although confined to his own Parish, be hindered from receiving the Charity of the whole Town; because in this Case, those well-disposed Persons who walk the Streets, will give their Charity to such whom they think proper Objects, where-ever they meet them, provided they are found in their

own Parishes, and wearing their Badges of Distinction. And, as to those Parishes which border upon the Skirts and Suburbs of the Town, where Country Strolers are used to harbour themselves, they must be forced to go back to their Homes, when they find no Body to relieve them, because they want that Mark which only gives them Licence to beg. Upon this Point, it were to be wished, that inferior Parish Officers had better Encouragement given them, to perform their Duty in driving away all Beggars who do not belong to the Parish, instead of conniving at them, as it is said they do for some small Contribution; for the whole City would save much more by ridding themselves of many hundred Beggars, than they would lose by giving Parish Officers a reasonable Support.

It should seem a strange, unaccountable Thing, that those who have probably been reduced to Want by Riot, Lewdness, and Idleness, although they have Assurance enough to beg Alms publickly from all they meet, should yet be too proud to wear the Parish Badge, which would turn so much to their own Advantage, by ridding them of such great Numbers, who now intercept the greatest Part of what belongeth to them: Yet, it is certain, that there are very many who publickly declare they will never wear those Badges, and many others who either hide or throw them away: But the Remedy for this is very short, easy, and just, by tying them like Vagabonds and sturdy Beggars, and forcibly driving them out of the Town.

Therefore, as soon as this Expedient of wearing Badges shall be put in Practice, I do earnestly exhort all those who hear me, never to give their Alms to any publick Beggar who doth not fully comply with this Order; by which our Number of Poor will be so reduced, that it will be much easier to provide for the rest. Our Shop-Doors will be no longer crouded with so many Thieves and Pick-pockets, in Beggars Habits, nor our Streets so dangerous to those who are forced to walk in the Night.

Thus I have, with great Freedom delivered my Thoughts upon this Subject, which so nearly concerneth us. It is certainly a bad Scheme, to any Christian Country which God hath blessed with Fruitfulness, and where the People enjoy the just Rights and

Privileges of Mankind, that there should be any Beggars at all. But, alas! among us, where the whole Nation itself is almost reduced to Beggary by the Disadvantages we lye under, and the Hardships we are forced to bear; the Laziness, Ignorance, Thoughtlessness, squandering Temper, slavish Nature, and uncleanly Manner of Living in the poor Popish Natives, together with the cruel Oppressions of their Landlords, who delight to see their Vassals in the Dust; I say, that in such a Nation, how can we otherwise expect than to be over-run with Objects of Misery and Want? Therefore, there can be no other Method to free this City from so intolerable a Grievance, than by endeavouring, as far as in us lies, that the Burden may be more equally divided, by contributing to maintain our own Poor, and forcing the Strolers and Vagabonds to return to their several Homes in the Country, there to smite the Conscience of those Oppressors, who first stripped them of all their Substance.

I MIGHT here, if the Time would permit, offer many Arguments to persuade to Works of Charity; but you hear them so often from the Pulpit, that I am willing to hope you may not now want them. Besides, my present Design was only to shew where your Alms would be best bestowed, to the Honour of God, your own Ease and Advantage, the Service of your Country, and the Benefit of the Poor. I desire you will all weigh and consider what I have spoken, and, according to your several Stations and Abilities, endeavour to put it in Practice; and God give you good Success, to whom, with the Son and Holy Ghost, be all Honour, *&c.*

The Grace of God, &c.

UPON SLEEPING IN CHURCH.

ACTS, Chap. xx. Ver. 9.

And there sat in a Window a certain young Man named Eutychus, *being fallen into a deep Sleep; and while* Paul *was long preaching, he sunk down with Sleep, and fell down from the third Loft, and was taken up dead.*

I HAVE chosen these Words with Design, if possible, to disturb some Part in this Audience of half an Hour's Sleep, for the Convenience and Exercise whereof this Place, at this Season of the Day, is very much celebrated.

THERE is indeed one mortal Disadvantage to which all preaching is subject; that those who, by the Wickedness of their Lives, stand in greatest Need, have usually the smallest Share; for, either they are absent upon the Account of Idleness, or Spleen, or Hatred to Religion, or in order to doze away the Intemperance of the Week; or, if they do come, they are sure to employ their Minds rather any other Way, than regarding or attending to the Business of the Place.

THE Accident which happened to this young Man in the Text, hath not been sufficient to discourage his Successors: But, because the Preachers now in the World, however they may exceed St. *Paul* in the Art of setting Men to Sleep, do extremely fall short of him in the Working of Miracles; therefore Men are become so cautious as to chuse more safe and convenient Stations and Postures for taking their Repose, without Hazard of their Persons; and upon the whole Matter, chuse rather to trust their

Destruction to a Miracle, than their Safety. However, this being not the only Way by which the lukewarm Christians and Scorners of the Age discover their Neglect and Contempt of Preaching, I shall enter expressly into Consideration of this Matter, and order my Discourse in the following Method.

First, I SHALL produce several Instances to shew the great Neglect of Preaching now among us.
Secondly, I SHALL reckon up some of the usual Quarrels Men have against Preaching.
Thirdly, I SHALL set forth the great Evil of this Neglect and Contempt of Preaching, and discover the real Causes from whence it proceedeth.
Lastly, I SHALL offer some Remedies against this great and spreading Evil.

First, I SHALL produce certain Instances to shew the great Neglect of Preaching now among us.

THESE may be reduced under two Heads. First, Men's Absence from the Service of the Church; and, Secondly, their Misbehaviour when they are here.

THE first Instance of Men's Neglect, is in their frequent Absence from the Church.

THERE is no Excuse so trivial, that will not pass upon some Men's Consciences to excuse their Attendance at the public Worship of God. Some are so unfortunate as to be always indisposed on the Lord's Day, and think nothing so unwholesome as the Air of a Church. Others have their Affairs so oddly contrived, as to be always unluckily prevented by Business. With some it is a great Mark of Wit, and deep Understanding, to stay at Home on *Sundays*. Others again discover strange Fits of Laziness, that seize them, particularly on that Day, and confine them to their Beds. Others are absent out of meer Contempt of Religion. And, lastly, there are not a few who look upon it as a Day of Rest, and therefore claim the Privilege of their Castle, to keep the Sabbath by eating, drinking, and sleeping, after the Toil and Labour of the

Week. Now, in all this the worst Circumstance is, that these Persons are such whose Companies are most required, and who stand most in *Need of a Physician.*

SECONDLY, Men's great Neglect and Contempt of Preaching, appear by their Misbehaviour, when at Church.

IF the Audience were to be ranked under several Heads, according to their Behaviour, when the Word of God is delivered, how small a Number would appear of those who receive it as they ought? How much of the Seed then sown would be found to fall by the Way Side, upon stony Ground, or among Thorns? And how little good Ground would there be to take it? A Preacher cannot look round from the Pulpit, without observing, that some are in a perpetual Whisper, and, by their Air and Gesture, give Occasion to suspect, that they are in those very Minutes defaming their Neighbour. Others have their Eyes and Imagination constantly engaged in such a Circle of Objects, perhaps to gratify the most unwarrantable Desires, that they never once attend to the Business of the Place; the Sound of the Preacher's Words doth not so much as once interrupt them. Some have their Minds wandering among idle, worldly, or vicious Thoughts. Some lie at Catch to ridicule whatever they hear, and with much Wit and Humour provide a Stock of Laughter, by furnishing themselves from the Pulpit. But, of all Misbehaviour, none is comparable to that of those who come here to sleep; Opium is not so stupifying to many Persons as an Afternoon Sermon. Perpetual Custom hath so brought it about, that the Words of whatever Preacher, become only a Sort of uniform Sound at a Distance, than which nothing is more effectual to lull the Senses. For, that it is the very Sound of the Sermon which bindeth up their Faculties, is manifest from hence, because they all awake so very regularly as soon as it ceaseth, and with much Devotion receive the Blessing, dozed and besotted with Indecencies I am ashamed to repeat.

I PROCEED, *Secondly*, to reckon up some of the usual Quarrels Men have against Preaching, and to shew the Unreasonableness of them.

SUCH unwarrantable Demeanor as I have described, among

Christians in the House of God, in a solemn Assembly, while their Faith and Duty are explained and delivered, have put those who are guilty, upon inventing some Excuses to extenuate their Fault: This they do by turning the Blame either upon the particular Preacher, or upon Preaching in general. First, they object against the particular Preacher; his Manner, his Delivery, his Voice are disagreeable; his Style and Expression are flat and low, sometimes improper and absurd; the Matter is heavy trivial and insipid; sometimes despicable, and perfectly ridiculous, or else, on the other Side, he runs up into unintelligible Speculation, empty Notions, and abstracted Flights, all clad in Words above usual Understandings.

SECONDLY, They object against Preaching in general; it is a perfect Road of Talk; they know already whatever can be said; they have heard the same an hundred Times over. They quarrel that Preachers do not relieve an old beaten Subject with Wit and Invention; and that now the Art is lost of moving Men's Passions, so common among the Orators of *Greece* and *Rome*. These, and the like Objections, are frequently in the Mouths of Men who despise the Foolishness of Preaching. But let us examine the Reasonableness of them.

THE Doctrine delivered by all Preachers is the same: *So we preach, and so ye believe*: But the Manner of delivering is suited to the Skill and Abilities of each, which differ in Preachers just as in the rest of Mankind. However, in personal Dislikes of a particular Preacher, are these Men sure they are always in the right? Do they consider how mixed a Thing is every Audience, whose Taste and Judgment differ, perhaps every Day, not only from each other, but themselves? And how to calculate a Discourse, that shall exactly suit them all, is beyond the Force and Reach of human Reason, Knowledge or Invention. Wit and Eloquence are shining Qualities, that God hath imparted, in great Degrees, to very few, nor any more to be expected, in the Generality of any Rank among Men, than Riches and Honour. But further: If Preaching in general be all old and beaten, and that they are already so well acquainted with it, more Shame and Guilt to them

who so little edify by it. But, these Men, whose Ears are so delicate as not to endure a plain Discourse of Religion, who expect a constant Supply of Wit and Eloquence on a Subject handled so many thousand Times; what will they say when we turn the Objection upon themselves, who with all the lewd and profane Liberty of Discourse they take, upon so many thousand Subjects, are so dull as to furnish nothing but tedious Repetitions, and little paultry, nauseous Common-places, so vulgar, so worn, or so obvious, as upon any other Occasion, but that of advancing Vice, would be hooted off the Stage. Nor, lastly, are Preachers justly blamed for neglecting human Oratory to move the Passions, which is not the Business of a Christian Orator, whose Office it is only to work upon Faith and Reason. All other Eloquence hath been a perfect Cheat, to stir up Men's Passions against Truth and Justice, for the Service of a Faction, to put false Colours upon Things, and by an Amusement of agreeable Words, make the worse Reason appear to be the better. This is certainly not to be allowed in Christian Eloquence, and therefore, St. *Paul* took quite the other Course; he *came not with Excellency of Words, or enticing Speeches of Men's Wisdom, but in plain Evidence of the Spirit, and Power*: And, perhaps, it was for that Reason the young Man *Eutychus*, used to the *Grecian* Eloquence, grew tired, and fell so fast asleep.

I GO on *Thirdly*, to set forth the great Evil of this Neglect and Scorn of Preaching, and to discover the real Causes from whence it proceedeth.

I THINK it is obvious to believe, that this Neglect of Preaching hath very much occasioned the great Decay of Religion among us. To this may be imputed no small Part of that Contempt some Men bestow on the Clergy; for whoever talketh without being regarded, is sure to be despised. To this we owe in a great Measure, the spreading of Atheism and Infidelity among us; for, Religion, like all other Things, is soonest put out of Countenance by being ridiculed. The Scorn of Preaching might perhaps, have been at first introduced by Men of nice Ears and refined Taste; but it is now become a spreading Evil, through all De-

grees, and both Sexes; for, since Sleeping, Talking and Laughing are Qualities sufficient to furnish out a Critick, the meanest and most Ignorant have set up a Title, and succeeded in it, as well as their Betters. Thus are the last Efforts of reforming Mankind rendered wholly useless: *How shall they hear*, saith the Apostle, *without a Preacher*? But, if they have a Preacher, and make it a Point of Wit or Breeding not to hear him, what Remedy is left? To this Neglect of Preaching, we may also entirely impute that gross Ignorance among us in the very Principles of Religion, which is amazing to find in Persons who very much value their own Knowledge and Understanding in other Things; yet it is a visible, inexcusable Ignorance, even in the meanest among us, considering the many Advantages they have of learning their Duty. And, it hath been the great Encouragement to all Manner of Vice: For, in vain we preach down Sin to a People, *whose Hearts are waxed gross*, *whose Ears are dull of Hearing*, and *whose Eyes are closed*. Therefore CHRIST himself, in his Discourses, frequently rouseth up the Attention of the Multitude, and of his Disciples themselves, with this Expression, *He that hath Ears to hear*, *let him hear*. But, among all Neglects of Preaching, none is so fatal as that of sleeping in the House of God; a Scorner may listen to Truth and Reason, and in Time grow serious; an Unbeliever may feel the Pangs of a guilty Conscience; one whose Thoughts or Eyes wander among other Objects, may, by a lucky Word, be called back to Attention: But the Sleeper shuts up all Avenues to his Soul: He is *like the deaf Adder*, *that hearkeneth not to the Voice of the Charmer*, *charm he never so wisely*. And we may preach with as good Success to the Grave that is under his Feet.

BUT the great Evil of this Neglect will further yet appear, from considering the real Causes whence it proceedeth; whereof the first, I take to be, an evil Conscience. Many Men come to Church to save or gain a Reputation; or because they will not be singular, but comply with an established Custom; yet all the while, they are loaded with the Guilt of old rooted Sins. These Men can expect to hear of nothing but Terrors and Threatenings, their Sins laid open in true Colours, and eternal Misery the Reward of them; therefore no Wonder they stop their Ears, and divert their

Thoughts, and seek any Amusement, rather than stir the Hell within them.

ANOTHER Cause of this Neglect, is a Heart set upon worldly Things. Men whose Minds are much enslaved to earthly Affairs all the Week, cannot disengage or break the Chain of their Thoughts so suddenly, as to apply to a Discourse that is wholly foreign to what they have most at Heart. Tell a Usurer of Charity, and Mercy, and Restitution, you talk to the Deaf; his Heart and Soul, with all his Senses, are got among his Bags, or he is gravely asleep, and dreaming of a Mortgage. Tell a Man of Business, that the Cares of the World *choak the good Seed*; that we must not encumber ourselves with much serving; that the Salvation of his Soul is the one Thing necessary: You see, indeed, the Shape of a Man before you, but his Faculties are all gone off among Clients and Papers, thinking how to defend a bad Cause, or find Flaws in a good one; or, he weareth out the Time in drowsy Nods.

A THIRD Cause of the great Neglect and Scorn of Preaching, ariseth from the Practice of Men who set up to decry and disparage Religion; these, being zealous to promote Infidelity and Vice, learn a Rote of Buffoonery that serveth all Occasions, and refutes the strongest Arguments for Piety and good Manners. These have a Set of Ridicule calculated for all Sermons and all Preachers, and can be extream witty as often as they please upon the same Fund.

LET me now in the last Place, offer some Remedies against this great Evil.

IT will be one Remedy against the Contempt of Preaching, rightly to consider the End for which it was designed. There are many who place Abundance of Merit in going to Church, although it be with no other Prospect but that of being well entertained, wherein if they happen to fail, they return wholly disappointed. Hence it is become an impertinent Vein among People of all Sorts, to hunt after what they call a good Sermon, as if it were a Matter of Pastime and Diversion. Our Business, alas, is quite another Thing, either to learn, or at least be reminded of our Duty, to apply the Doctrines delivered, compare the Rules

we hear with our Lives and Actions, and find wherein we have transgressed. These are The Dispositions Men should bring into the House of God, and then they will be little concerned about the Preacher's Wit or Eloquence, nor be curious to enquire out his Faults or Infirmities, but consider how to correct their own.

ANOTHER Remedy against the Contempt of Preaching is, that Men would consider, whether it be not reasonable to give more Allowances for the different Abilities of Preachers than they usually do? Refinements of Stile, and Flights of Wit, as they are not properly the Business of any Preacher, so they cannot possibly be the Talents of all. In most other Discourses, Men are satisfied with sober Sense and plain Reason; and, as Understandings usually go, even that is not over frequent. Then why should they be so over-nice in expectation of eloquence, where it is neither necessary nor convenient, is hard to imagine.

Lastly, THE Scorners of Preaching would do well to consider, that this Talent of Ridicule, they value so much, is a Perfection very easily acquired, and applied to all Things whatsoever; neither is it any Thing at all the worse, because it is capable of being perverted to Burlesque: Perhaps it may be the more perfect upon that Score; since we know, the most celebrated Pieces have been thus treated with greatest Success. It is in any Man's Power to suppose a Fool's Cap on the wisest Head, and then laugh at his own Supposition. I think there are not many Things cheaper than supposing and laughing; and if the uniting these two Talents can bring a Thing into Contempt, it is hard to know where it may end.

To conclude, THESE Considerations may, perhaps, have some Effects while Men are awake; but what Argument shall we use to the Sleeper? What Methods shall we take to hold open his Eyes? Will he be moved by Considerations of common Civility? We know it is reckoned a Point of very bad Manners to sleep in private Company, when, perhaps, the tedious Impertinence of many Talkers would render it at least as excusable as at the dullest Sermon. Do they think it a small Thing to watch four Hours

at a Play, where all Virtue and Religion are openly reviled; and can they not watch one half Hour to hear them defended? Is this to deal like a Judge, (I mean like a good Judge) to listen on one Side of the Cause, and sleep on the other? I shall add but one Word more: That this indecent Sloth is very much owing to that Luxury and Excess Men usually practice upon this Day, by which half the Service thereof is turned into Sin; Men dividing the Time between God and their Bellies, when after a gluttonous Meal, their Senses dozed and stupified, they retire to God's House to sleep out the Afternoon. Surely, Brethren, these Things ought not so to be.

He that hath Ears to hear, let him hear. And God give us all Grace to hear and receive his holy Word to the Salvation of our own Souls.

A

SERMON

UPON THE

MARTYRDOM of K. CHARLES I.

Preached at St. Patrick's, Dublin, Jan. 30, 1725-6, being Sunday.

GENESIS xlix. 5, 6, 7.

SIMEON *and* LEVI *are brethren; instruments of cruelty are in their habitations.*

O my soul, come not thou into their secret, unto their assembly mine honour be not thou united; for in their anger they slew a man, and in their self-will they digged down a wall.

Cursed be their anger, for it was fierce; and their wrath, for it was cruel. I will divide them in JACOB, *and scatter them in* ISRAEL.

I KNOW very well, that the church hath been often censured for keeping holy this day of humiliation, in memory of that excellent King and blessed Martyr CHARLES I. who rather chose to die on a scaffold than betray the religion and liberties of his people, wherewith GOD and the laws had entrusted him. But, at the same time, it is manifest that those who make such censures are either people without any religion at all, or who derived their principles, and perhaps their birth, from the abettors of those who contrived the murder of that Prince, and have not yet shewn the world that their opinions are changed. It is alledged that the observation of this day hath served to continue and encrease the animosity and enmity among our country-men, and to disunite Protestants; that a law was made, upon the Restoration of the Martyr's son, for a general pardon and oblivion, forbid-

ding all reproaches upon that occasion; and, since none are now alive who were actors or instruments in that tragedy, it is thought hard and uncharitable to keep up the memory of it for all generations. Now, because I conceive most of you to be ignorant in many particulars concerning that horrid murder, and the rebellion which preceded it; I will,

First relate to you so much of the story as may be sufficient for your information:

Secondly, I will tell you the consequences which this bloody deed had upon these kingdoms:

And, lastly, I will shew you to what good uses this solemn day of humiliation may be applied.

As to the first, In the reign of this Prince, Charles the Martyr, the power and prerogative of the king were much greater than they are in our times, and so had been for at least 700 years before: And the best princes we ever had carried their power much farther than the blessed Martyr offered to do in the most blameable part of his reign. But, the lands of the crown having been prodigally bestowed to favourites, in the preceding reigns, the succeeding kings could not support themselves without taxes raised by parliament; which put them under a necessity of frequently calling those assemblies: And, the crown-lands being gotten into the hands of the nobility and gentry, besides the possessions of which the church had been robbed by Henry VIII.; power, which always follows property, grew to lean to the side of the people, by whom even the just rights of the crown were often disputed.

But further: Upon the cruel persecution raised against the Protestants, under Queen Mary, among great numbers who fled the kingdom to seek for shelter, several went and resided at Geneva, which is a commonwealth governed without a king, and where the religion, contrived by Calvin, is without the order of bishops. When the Protestant faith was restored by Queen Elizabeth, those who fled to Geneva returned among the rest home to England, and were grown so fond of the government and religion of the place they had left, that they used all possible endeavours to introduce both into their own country; at the

same time continually preaching and railing against ceremonies and distinct habits of the clergy, taxing whatever they disliked, as a remnant of Popery, and continued extremely troublesome to the church and state, under that great Queen, as well as her successor King James I. These people called themselves *Puritans* as pretending to a purer faith than those of the church established. And these were the founders of our dissenters. They did not think it sufficient to leave all the errors of Popery, but threw off many laudable and edifying institutions of the Primitive Church, and, at last, even the government of Bishops; which, having been ordained by the apostles themselves, had continued without interruption, in all Christian churches, for above 1500 years. And all this they did, not because those things were evil, but because they were kept by the Papists. From thence they proceeded, by degrees, to quarrel with the kingly government; because as I have already said, the city of Geneva, to which their fathers had flown for refuge, was a commonwealth, or government of the people.

These Puritans, about the middle of the Martyr's reign, were grown to be a considerable faction in the kingdom, and in the Lower House of parliament. They filled the public with the most false and bitter libels against the bishops and clergy, accusing chiefly the very best among them of Popery; and, at the same time, the House of Commons grew so insolent and uneasy to the King, that they refused to furnish him with necessary supplies for the support of his family, unless upon such conditions as he could not submit to without forfeiting his conscience and honour, and even his coronation-oath. And, in such an extremity, he was forced upon a practice, no way justifiable, of raising money; for which, however, he had the opinion of the judges on his side: For, wicked judges there were in those times as well as in ours. There were likewise many complaints, and sometimes justly, made against the proceedings of a certain court, called the Star-chamber, a judicature of great antiquity, but had suffered some corruptions, for which, however, the King was no way answerable. I cannot recollect any more subjects of complaint with the least ground of reason, nor is it needful to recollect them, because this gracious King did, upon the first application, redress all

grievances by an act of parliament, and put it out of his power to do any hardships for the future. But, that wicked faction in the House of Commons, not content with all those marks of his justice and condescension, urged still for more; and joining with a factious party from Scotland, who had the same fancies in religion, forced him to pass an act for cutting off the head of his best and chief minister; and, at the same time, compelled him, by tumults and threatnings of a packed rabble, poisoned with the same doctrines to pass another law, by which it should not be in his power to dissolve that parliament without their own consent. Thus, by the greatest weakness and infatuation that ever possessed any man's spirit, this Prince did in effect sign his own destruction. For the House of Commons, having the reins in their own hands, drove on furiously; sent him every day some unreasonable demand, and, when he refused to grant it, made use of their own power, and declared that an ordinance of both Houses, without the King's consent, should be obeyed as a law, contrary to all reason and equity, as well as to the fundamental constitution of the kingdom.

About this time the rebellion in Ireland broke out, wherein his parliament refused to assist him; nor would accept his offer to come hither in person to subdue those rebels. These, and a thousand other barbarities, forced the King to summon his loyal subjects to his standard in his own defence. Meanwhile the English parliament, instead of helping the poor Protestants here, seized on the very army that his Majesty was sending over for our relief, and turned them against their own Sovereign. The rebellion in England continued for four or five years: At last the King was forced to fly in disguise to the Scots, who sold him to the rebels. And these Puritans had the impudent cruelty to try his sacred person in a mock court of justice, and cut off his head; which he might have saved, if he would have yielded to betray the constitution in church and state.

In this whole proceeding, Simeon and Levi were brethren, the wicked insinuations of those fanatical preachers stirring up the cruelty of the soldiers, who, by force of arms, excluded from the House every member of parliament, whom they apprehended to

bear the least inclination towards an agreement with the King, suffering only those to enter who thirsted chiefly for his blood; and this the very account given by their own writers. From whence it is clear that this Prince was, in all respects, a real martyr for the true religion and liberty of his people. That odious parliament had first turned the bishops out of the House of Lords; in a few years after, they murdered their King; then immediately abolished the whole House of Lords; and so, at last, obtained their wishes, of having a government of the people, and a new religion, both after the manner of Geneva, without a king, a bishop, or a nobleman; and this they blasphemously called the kingdom of Christ and his saints.

This is enough for your information on the first head: I shall therefore proceed to the second, wherein I will shew you the miserable consequences which that abominable rebellion and murder produced in these nations.

First, the Irish rebellion was wholely owing to that wicked English parliament. For the leaders in the Irish Popish massacre would never have dared to stir a finger, if they had not been encouraged by that rebellious spirit in the English House of Commons, which they very well knew must disable the King from sending any supplies to his Protestant subjects here; and, therefore, we may truly say that the English parliament held the King's hands, while the Irish Papists here were cutting our grandfathers throats.

Secondly, That murderous Puritan-parliament, when they had all in their own power, could not agree upon any one method of settling a form either of religion or civil government, but changed every day from schism to schism, from heresy to heresy, and from one faction to another. From whence arose that wild confusion still continuing in our several ways of serving God, and those absurd notions of civil power, which have so often torn us with factions more than any other nation in Europe.

Thirdly, To this rebellion and murder have been owing the rise and progress of Atheism among us. For, men observing what numberless villainies of all kinds were committed during twenty years, under pretence of zeal and the reformation of God's

church, were easily tempted to doubt, that all religion was a mere imposture. And the same spirit of infidelity, so far spread among us at this present, is nothing but the fruit of the seeds sown by those rebellious, hypocritical saints.

Fourthly, The old virtue and loyalty, and generous spirit of the English nation, were wholely corrupted by the power, the doctrine, and the example of those wicked people.—Many of the antient nobility were killed, and their families extinct, in defence of their Prince and country, or murdered by the merciless courts of justice. Some of the worst among them favoured, or complied with the reigning iniquities, and not a few of the new set created, when the Martyr's son was restored, were such who had drank too deep of the bad principles then prevailing.

Fifthly, The children of the murdered Prince were forced to fly, for the safety of their lives, to foreign countries; where one of them, at least, I mean King James II. was seduced to Popery; which ended in the loss of his kingdoms, the misery and desolation of this country, and a long and expensive war abroad. Our deliverance was owing to the valour and conduct of the late King; and, therefore, we ought to remember him with gratitude, but not mingled with blasphemy or idolatry. It was happy that his interests and ours were the same: And God gave him greater success than our sins deserved. But, as a house thrown down by a storm is seldom rebuilt, without some change in the foundation, so it hath happened, that, since the late Revolution, men have sate much looser in the true fundamentals both of religion and government, and factions have been more violent, treacherous, and malicious than ever, men running naturally from one extreme into another; and, for private ends, taking up those very opinions professed by the leaders in that rebellion, which carried the blessed Martyr to the scaffold.

Sixthly, Another consequence of this horrid rebellion and murder was, the destroying or defacing such vast numbers of God's houses. *In their self-will they digged down a wall.* If a stranger should now travel in England, and observe the churches in his way, he could not otherwise conclude, than that some vast army of Turks or Heathens had been sent on purpose to ruin and blot

out all marks of Christianity. They spared neither the statues of saints, or antient prelates, or kings, or benefactors; broke down the tombs and monuments of men famous in their generations, seized the vessels of silver set apart for the holiest use, tore down the most innocent ornaments both within and without, made the houses of prayer dens of thieves, or stables for cattle. These were the mildest effects of Puritan-zeal, and devotion for Christ: and this was what themselves affected to call a thorough reformation. In this kingdom those ravages were not so easily seen; for the people here being too poor to raise such noble temples, the mean ones we had, were not defaced, but totally destroyed.

Upon the whole, it is certain, that, although God might have found out many other ways to have punished a sinful people, without permitting this rebellion and murder, yet as the course of the world hath run ever since, we need seek for no other causes, of all the public evils we have hitherto suffered, or may suffer for the future, by the misconduct of princes, or wickedness of the people.

I go on now upon the third head, to shew you to what good uses this solemn day of humiliation may be applied.

First, It may be an instruction to princes themselves, to be careful in the choice of those who are their advisers in matters of law. All the judges of England, except one or two, advised the King, that he might legally raise money upon the subjects for building of ships, without consent of parliament; which, as it was the greatest oversight of his reign, so it proved the principal foundation of all his misfortunes. Princes may likewise learn from hence, not to sacrifice a faithful servant to the rage of a faction, nor to trust any body of men with a greater share of power than the laws of the land have appointed them, much less to deposit it in their hands until they shall please to restore it.

Secondly, By bringing to mind the tragedy of this day, and the consequences that have arisen from it, we shall be convinced how necessary it is for those in power to curb, in season, all such unruly spirits as desire to introduce new doctrines and discipline in the church, or new forms of government in the state.—Those wicked Puritans began, in Queen Elizabeth's time, to quarrel

only with surplices and other habits, with the ring in matrimony, the cross in baptism, and the like; thence they went on to further matters of higher importance, and, at last, they must needs have the whole government of the church dissolved. This great work they compassed, first, by depriving the bishops of their seats in parliament, then they abolished the whole order; and, at last, which was their original design, they seized on all the church-lands, and divided the spoil among themselves; and, like Jeroboam, made priests of the very dregs of the people. This was their way of reforming the church. As to the civil government, you have already heard how they modelled it upon the murder of their King, and discarding the nobility. Yet, clearly to shew what a Babel they had built, after twelve years trial, and twenty several sorts of government; the nation, grown weary of their tyranny, was forced to call in the son of him whom those reformers dad sacrificed. And thus were Simeon and Levi divided in Jacob, and scattered in Israel.

Thirdly, Although the successors of those Puritans, I mean our present dissenters, do not think fit to observe this day of humiliation; yet, since it would be very proper in them, upon some occasions, to renounce in a public manner those principles upon which their predecessors acted; and it will be more prudent in them to do so, because those very Puritans, of whom ours are followers, found by experience, that, after they had overturned the church and state, murdered their King, and were projecting what they called a kingdom of the saints, they were cheated of the power and possessions they only panted after, by an upstart sect of religion that grew out of their own bowels, who subjected them to one tyrant, while they were endeavouring to set up a thousand.

Fourthly, Those who profess to be followers of our church established, and yet presume in discourse to justify or excuse that rebellion, and murder of the King, ought to consider, how utterly contrary all such opinions are to the doctrine of Christ and his apostles, as well as to the articles of our church, and to the preaching and practice of its true professors for above an hundred years. Of late times, indeed, and I speak it with grief of

heart, we have heard even sermons of a strange nature; although reason would make one think it a very unaccountable way of procuring favour under a monarchy, by palliating and lessening the guilt of those who murdered the best of Kings in cold blood, and, for a time, destroyed the very monarchy itself. Pray God we may never more hear such doctrine from the pulpit, nor have it scattered about in print, to poison the people.

Fifthly, some general knowledge of this horrid rebellion and murder, with the consequences they had upon these nations, may be a warning to our people not to believe a lie, and to mistrust those deluding spirits, who, under pretence of a purer and more reformed religion, would lead them from their duty to God and the laws. Politicians may say what they please, but it is no hard thing at all for the meanest person, who hath common understanding, to know whether he be well or ill governed. If he be freely allowed to follow his trade and calling; if he be secure in his property, and hath the benefit of the law to defend himself against injustice and oppression: If his religion be different from that of his country, and the government think fit to tolerate it, (which he may be very secure of, let it be what it will) he ought to be fully satisfied, and give no offence, by writing or discourse, to the worship established, as the dissenting preachers are too apt to do. But, if he hath any new visions of his own, it is his duty to be quiet, and possess them in silence, without disturbing the community by a furious zeal for making proselytes. This was the folly and madness of those antient Puritan fanatics: They must needs overturn heaven and earth, violate all the laws of God and man, make their country a field of blood, to propagate whatever wild or wicked opinions came into their heads, declaring all their absurdities and blasphemies to proceed from the Holy Ghost.

To conclude this head. In answer to that objection of keeping up animosity and hatred between Protestants, by the observation of this day; if there be any sect, or sort of people among us, who profess the same principles in religion and government which those Puritan rebels put in practice; I think it is the interest of all those who love the church and king, to keep up as strong a party against them as possible, until they shall, in a body, re-

nounce all those wicked opinions upon which their predecessors acted, to the disgrace of Christianity, and the perpetual infamy of the English nation.

When we accuse the Papists of the horrid doctrine, that no faith ought to be kept with Heretics, they deny it to a man; and yet we justly think it dangerous to trust them, because we know their actions have been sometimes suitable to that opinion: But the followers of those who beheaded the Martyr, have not yet renounced their principles; and, till they do, they may be justly suspected: Neither will the bare name of Protestants set them right. For, surely, Christ requires more from us than a profession of hating Popery, which a Turk or an Atheist may do as well as a Protestant.

If an enslaved people should recover their liberty, from a tyrannical power of any sort, who could blame them for commemorating their deliverance by a day of joy and thanksgiving? And doth not the destruction of a church, a king, and three kingdoms, by the artifices, hypocrisy, and cruelty of a wicked race of soldiers and preachers, and other sons of Belial, equally require a solemn time of humiliation? especially, since the consequences of that bloody scene still continue, as I have already shewn, in their effects upon us.

Thus I have done with the three heads I proposed to discourse on. But, before I conclude, I must give a caution to those who hear me, that they may not think I am pleading for absolute unlimited power in any one man. It is true, all power is from God, and, as the apostle says, *The powers that be are ordained of God*; but this is in the same sense, that all we have is from God, our food and raiment, and whatever possession we hold by lawful means. Nothing can be meant in those, or any other words of Scripture, to justify tyrannical power, or the savage cruelties of those Heathen emperors who lived in the time of the apostles: And so St. Paul concludes, *The powers that be are ordained of God*: For what? Why, *for the punishment of evil doers, and the praise, the reward of them that do well.* There is no more inward value in the greatest emperor, than in the meanest of his subjects: His body is composed of the same substance, the same parts, and with the same

or greater infirmities: His education is generally worse, by flattery, and idleness, and luxury, and those evil dispositions that early power is apt to give. It is therefore against common sense, that his private personal interest, or pleasure, should be put in the balance with the safety of millions, every one of which is his equal by nature, equal in the sight of God, equally capable of salvation; and it is for their sakes, not his own, that he is entrusted with the government over them. He hath as high trust as can safely be reposed in one man, and, if he discharge it as he ought, he deserves all the honour and duty that a mortal may be allowed to receive. His personal failings we have nothing to do with, and errors in government are to be imputed to his ministers in the state. To what height those errors may be suffered to proceed, is not the business of this day, or this place, or of my function, to determine. When oppressions grow too great and universal to be borne, nature or necessity may find a remedy. But, if a private person reasonably expects pardon, upon his amendment, for all faults that are not capital, it would be an hard condition indeed, not to give the same allowance to a Prince; who must see with other mens eyes, and hear with other mens ears, which are often wilfully blind and deaf. Such was the condition of the Martyr, and is so, in some degree, of all other princes. Yet, this we may justly say in defence of the common people, in all civilized nations, that it must be a very bad government indeed, where the body of the subjects will not rather chuse to live in peace and obedience, than take up arms on pretence of faults in the administration, unless where the vulgar are deluded by false preachers, to grow fond of new visions and fancies in religion, which, managed by dexterous men, for sinister ends of malice, envy or ambition, have often made whole nations run mad. This was exactly the case in the whole progress of that great rebellion, and the murder of King Charles I.; but the late Revolution under the Prince of Orange was occasioned by a proceeding directly contrary, the oppression and injustice there beginning from the throne. For that unhappy Prince, King James II. did not only invade our laws and liberties, but would have forced a false religion upon his subjects, for which he was de-

servedly rejected, since there could be no other remedy found, or at least agreed on. But, under the blessed Martyr, the deluded people would have forced many false religions, not only on their fellow subjects, but even upon their Sovereign himself, and at the same time invaded all his undoubted rights; and, because he would not comply, raised a horrid rebellion, wherein, by the permission of God, they prevailed, and put their Sovereign to death, like a common criminal, in the face of the world.

Therefore, those who seem to think they cannot otherwise justify the late Revolution, and the change of the succession, than by lessening the guilt of the Puritans, do certainly put the greatest affront imaginable upon the present powers, by supposing any relation, or resemblance, between that rebellion and the late revolution; and, consequently, that the present establishment is to be defended by the same arguments which those usurpers made use of, who, to obtain their tyranny, trampled under foot all the laws both of God and man.

One great design of my discourse was to give you warning against running into either extreme of two bad opinions, with relation to obedience. As kings are called Gods upon earth, so some would allow them an equal power with God, over all laws and ordinances; and that the liberty, and property, and life, and religion of the subject, depended wholely upon the breath of the prince; which however, I hope, was never meant by those who pleaded for passive obedience. And this opinion hath not been confined to that party which was first charged with it, but hath sometimes gone over to the other, to serve many an evil turn of interest or ambition, who have been as ready to enlarge prerogative, where they could find their own account, as the highest maintainers of it.

On the other side, some look upon kings as answerable for every mistake or omission in government, and bound to comply with the most unreasonable demands of an unquiet faction, which was the case of those who persecuted the blessed martyr of this day from his throne to the scaffold.

Between these two extremes, it is easy, from what hath been said, to chuse a middle; to be good and loyal subjects, yet, accord-

ing to your power, faithful assertors of your religion and liberties. To avoid all broachers and preachers of new-fangled doctrines in the church; to be strict observers of the laws, which cannot be justly taken from you without your own consent. In short, *to obey God and the King, and meddle not with those who are given to change.*

Which that you may all do, *&c.*

DOING GOOD:

A

SERMON,

On the Occasion of WOOD'S PROJECT.
Written in the Year M DCC XXIV.

GALATIANS, VI. 10.

As we have therefore opportunity, let us do Good unto all men.

NATURE directs every one of us, and God permits us, to consult our own private Good before the private Good of any other person whatsoever. We are, indeed, commanded to love our Neighbour as ourselves, but not as well as ourselves. The love we have for ourselves is to be the pattern of that love we ought to have towards our neighbour: But, as the copy doth not equal the original, so my neighbour cannot think it hard, if I prefer myself, who am the original, before him, who is only the copy. Thus, if any matter equally concern the life, the reputation, the profit of my neighbour, and my own; the law of nature, which is the law of God, obligeth me to take care of myself first, and afterwards of him. And this I need not be at much pains in persuading you to; for the want of self-love, with regard to things of this world, is not among the faults of mankind. But then, on the other side, if, by a small hurt and loss to myself, I can procure a great good to my neighbour, in that case his interest is to be preferred. For example, if I can be sure of saving his life, without great danger to my own; if I can preserve him from being undone, without ruining myself, or recover his reputation without blasting mine; all this I am obliged to do: And, if I sincerely perform it, I do then obey the command of God, in loving my neighbour as myself.

But, beside this love we owe to every man in his particular capacity under the title of our neighbour, there is yet a duty of a more large, extensive nature, incumbent on us; which is, our love to our neighbour in his public capacity, as he is a member of that great body, the commonwealth, under the same government with ourselves; and this is usually called love of the public, and is a duty to which we are more strictly obliged than even that of loving ourselves; because therein ourselves are also contained, as well as all our neighbours, in one great body. This love of the public, or of the commonwealth, or love of our country, was in antient times properly known by the name of *Virtue*, because it was the greatest of all virtues, and was supposed to contain all virtues in it: And many great examples of this virtue are left us on record, scarcely to be believed, or even conceived, in such a base, corrupted, wicked age as this we live in. In those times it was common for men to sacrifice their lives for the good of their country, although they had neither hope or belief of future rewards; whereas, in our days, very few make the least scruple of sacrificing a whole nation, as well as their own souls, for a little present gain; which often hath been known to end in their own ruin in this world, as it certainly must in that to come.

Have we not seen men, for the sake of some petty employment, give up the very natural rights and liberties of their country, and of mankind, in the ruin of which themselves must at last be involved? Are not these corruptions gotten among the meanest of our people, who, for a piece of money, will give their votes at a venture, for the disposal of their own lives and fortunes, without considering whether it be to those who are most likely to betray or defend them?

But, if I were to produce only one instance of a hundred wherein we fail in this duty of loving our country, it would be an endless labour; and therefore I shall not attempt it.

But here I would not be misunderstood: By the love of our country, I do not mean loyalty to our King, for that is a duty of another nature; and a man may be very loyal, in the common sense of the word, without one grain of public-good at his heart.

Witness this very kingdom we live in. I verily believe, that, since the beginning of the world, no nation upon earth ever shewed (all circumstances considered) such high constant marks of loyalty in all their actions and behaviour, as we have done: And, at the same time, no people ever appeared more utterly void of what is called a Public Spirit. When I say the people, I mean the bulk or mass of the people, for I have nothing to do with those in power.

Therefore, I shall think my time not ill spent, if I can persuade most or all of you who hear me, to shew the love you have for your country, by endeavouring, in your several stations, to do all the public good you are able. For I am certainly persuaded, that all our misfortunes arise from no other original cause than that general disregard among us to the public welfare.

I therefore undertake to shew you three things.

First, That there are few people so weak or mean, who have it not sometimes in their power to be useful to the public.

Secondly, That it is often in the power of the meanest among mankind to do mischief to the public.

And, lastly, That all wilful injuries done to the public, are very great and aggravated sins in the sight of God.

First, There are few people so weak or mean, who have it not sometimes in their power to be useful to the public.

Solomon tells us of a poor wise man who saved a city by his counsel. It hath often happened that a private soldier, by some unexpected brave attempt, hath been instrumental in obtaining a great victory. How many obscure men have been authors of very useful inventions, whereof the world now reaps the benefit? The very example of honesty and industry in a poor tradesman, will sometimes spread through a neighbourhood, when others see how successful he is; and thus so many useful members are gained, for which the whole body of the public is the better. Whoever is blessed with a true public spirit, God will certainly put it into his way to make use of that blessing, for the ends it was given him, by some means or other: And therefore it hath been observed in most ages, that the greatest actions, for the benefit of the commonwealth, have been performed by the wisdom or courage, the contrivance or industry, of particular

men, and not of numbers; and that the safety of a kingdom hath often been owing to those hands from whence it was least expected.

But, secondly, it is often in the power of the meanest among mankind to do mischief to the public: And hence arise most of those miseries with which the states and kingdoms of the earth are infested. How many great princes have been murdered by the meanest ruffians? The weakest hand can open a floodgate to drown a country, which a thousand of the strongest cannot stop. Those who have thrown off all regard for public good, will often have it in their way to do public evil, and will not fail to exercise that power whenever they can. The greatest blow given of late to this kingdom, was by the dishonesty of a few manufacturers; who, by imposing bad ware at foreign markets, in almost the only traffic permitted to us, did half ruin that trade; by which this poor unhappy kingdom now suffers in the midst of sufferings. I speak not here of persons in high stations, who ought to be free from all reflection, and are supposed always to intend the welfare of the community: But we now find by experience, that the meanest instrument may, by the concurrence of accidents, have it in his power to bring a whole kingdom to the very brink of destruction, and is, at this present, endeavouring to finish his work; and hath agents among ourselves, who are contented to see their own country undone, to be small sharers in that iniquitous gain, which at last must end in their own ruin as well as ours. I confess, it was chiefly the consideration of that great danger we are in, which engaged me to discourse to you on this subject; to exhort you to a love of your country, and a public spirit, when all you have is at stake; to prefer the interest of your prince and your fellow subjects before that of one destructive impostor, and a few of his adherents.

Perhaps it may be thought by some, that this way of discoursing is not so proper from the pulpit. But surely, when an open attempt is made, and far carried on, to make a great kingdom one large poor-house, to deprive us of all means to exercise hospitality or charity, to turn our cities and churches into ruins, to make the country a desert for wild beasts and robbers, to destroy all

arts and sciences, all trades and manufactures, and the very tillage of the ground, only to enrich one obscure, ill-designing projector, and his followers; it is time for the pastor to cry out, that the wolf is getting into his flock, to warn them to stand together, and all to consult the common safety. And God be praised for his infinite goodness, in raising such a spirit of union among us, at least in this point, in the midst of all our former divisions; which union, if it continue, will, in all probability, defeat the pernicious design of this pestilent enemy to the nation.

But, from hence, it clearly follows, how necessary the love of our country, or a public spirit, is in every particular man, since the wicked have so many opportunities of doing public mischief. Every man is upon his own guard for his private advantage; but, where the public is concerned, he is apt to be negligent, considering himself only as one among two or three millions, among whom the loss is equally shared, and thus, he thinks, he can be no great sufferer. Meanwhile the trader, the farmer, and the shopkeeper, complain of the hardness and deadness of the times, and wonder whence it comes; while it is, in a great measure, owing to their own folly, for want of that love of their country, and public spirit and firm union among themselves, which are so necessary to the prosperity of every nation.

Another method, by which the meanest wicked man may have it in his power to injure the public, is false accusation, whereof this kingdom hath afforded too many examples: Neither is it long since no man, whose opinions were thought to differ from those in fashion, could safely converse beyond his nearest friends, for fear of being sworn against, as a traitor, by those who made a traffic of perjury and subornation; by which the very peace of the nation was disturbed, and men fled from each other as they would from a lion or a bear got loose. And, it is very remarkable, that the pernicious project now in hand to reduce us to beggary, was forwarded by one of these false accusers, who had been convicted of endeavouring, by perjury and subornation, to take away the lives of several innocent persons here among us; and, indeed, there could not be a more proper instrument for such a work.

Another method, by which the meanest people may do injury to the public, is the spreading of lies and false rumours, thus raising a distrust among the people of a nation, causing them to mistake their true interest, and their enemies for their friends: And this hath been likewise too successful a practice among us, where we have known the whole kingdom misled by the grossest lies, raised upon occasion to serve some particular turn. As it hath also happened in the case I lately mentioned, where one obscure man, by representing our wants where they were least, and concealing them where they were greatest, had almost succeeded in a project of utterly ruining this whole kingdom; and may still succeed, if God doth not continue that public spirit, which he hath almost miraculously kindled in us upon this occasion.

Thus we see the public is many times, as it were, at the mercy of the meanest instrument, who can be wicked enough to watch opportunities of doing it mischief, upon the principles of avarice or malice; which, I am afraid, are deeply rooted in too many breasts, and against which there can be no defence, but a firm resolution in all honest men, to be closely united and active in shewing their love to their country, by preferring the public interest to their present private advantage. If a passenger, in a great storm at sea, should hide his goods, that they might not be thrown over board to lighten the ship, what would be the consequence? The ship is cast away, and he loseth his life and goods together.

We have heard of men, who, through greediness of gain, have brought infected goods into a nation, which bred a plague, whereof the owners and their families perished first. Let those among us consider this and tremble, whose houses are privately stored with those materials of beggary and desolation, lately brought over to be scattered like a pestilence among their countrymen, which may probably first seize upon themselves and their families, until their houses shall be made a dunghill.

I shall mention one practice more, by which the meanest instruments often succeed in doing public mischief; and this is by deceiving us with plausible arguments, to make us believe, that the most ruinous project they can offer is intended for our good, as

it happened in the case so often mentioned. For the poor ignorant people, allured by the appearing convenience in their small dealings, did not discover the serpent in the brass, but were ready, like the Israelites, to offer incense to it; neither could the wisdom of the nation convince them, until some, of good intentions, made the cheat so plain to their sight, that those who run may read. And thus the design was to treat us, in every point, as the Philistines treated Samson, (I mean when he was betrayed by Dalilah) first to put out our eyes, and then bind us with fetters of brass.

I proceed to the last thing I proposed, which was to shew you that all wilful injuries done to the public, are very great and aggravated sins in the sight of God.

First, It is apparent from Scripture, and most agreeable to reason, that the safety and welfare of nations are under the most peculiar care of God's providence. Thus he promised Abraham to save Sodom, if only ten righteous men could be found in it. Thus the reason which God gave to Jonas for not destroying Nineveh was, because there were six score thousand men in that city.

All government is from God, who is the God of order, and therefore whoever attempts to breed confusion or disturbance among a people, doth his utmost to take the government of the world out of God's hands, and to put it into the hands of the Devil, who is the author of confusion. By which it is plain, that no crime, how heinous soever, committed against particular persons, can equal the guilt of him who doth injury to the public.

Secondly, All offenders against their country lie under this grievous difficulty, that it is next to impossible to obtain a pardon, or make restitution. The bulk of mankind are very quick at resenting injuries, and very slow in forgiving them: And how shall one man be able to obtain the pardon of millions, or repair the injuries he hath done to millions? How shall those, who, by a most destructive fraud, got the whole wealth of our neighbouring kingdom into their hands, be ever able to make a recompence? How will the authors and promoters of that villainous project, for the ruin of this poor country, be able to account with us for

the injuries they have already done, although they should no farther succeed? The deplorable case of such wretches, must entirely be left to the unfathomable mercies of God: For those who know the least in religion are not ignorant that, without our utmost endeavours to make restitution to the person injured, and to obtain his pardon, added to a sincere repentance, there is no hope of salvation given in the Gospel.

Lastly, all offences against our own country have this aggravation, that they are ungrateful and unnatural. It is to our country we owe those laws which protect us in our lives, our liberties, our properties, and our religion. Our country produced us into the world, and continues to nourish us so, that it is usually called our mother; and there have been examples of great magistrates, who have put their own children to death for endeavouring to betray their country, as if they had attempted the life of their natural parent.

Thus I have briefly shewn you how terrible a sin it is to be an enemy to our country, in order to incite you to the contrary virtue, which at this juncture is so highly necessary, when every man's endeavour will be of use. We have hitherto been just able to support ourselves under many hardships; but now the axe is laid to the root of the tree, and nothing but a firm union among us can prevent our utter undoing. This we are obliged to, in duty to our gracious King, as well as to ourselves. Let us therefore preserve that public spirit, which God hath raised in us for our own temporal interest. For, if this wicked project should succeed, which it cannot do but by our own folly; if we sell ourselves for nought; the merchant, the shop-keeper, the artificer, must fly to the desert with their miserable families, there to starve or live upon rapine, or at least exchange their country for one more hospitable than that where they were born.

Thus much I thought it my duty to say to you, who are under my care, to warn you against those temporal evils, which may draw the worst of spiritual evils after them; such as heart-burnings, murmurings, discontents, and all manner of wickedness, which a desperate condition of life may tempt men to.

I am sensible, that what I have now said will not go very far,

being confined to this assembly; but I hope it may stir up others of my brethren to exhort their several congregations, after a more effectual manner, to shew their love for their country on this important occasion. And this, I am sure, cannot be called meddling in affairs of state.

I pray God protect his most gracious Majesty, and this kingdom, long under his government, and defend us from all ruinous projectors, deceivers, suborners, perjurers, false accusers, and oppressors; from the virulence of party and faction; and unite us in loyalty to our King, love to our country, and charity to each other. And this we beg for Jesus Christ his sake; To whom, *&c.*

A

SERMON

1 Cor. iii. 19.

The wisdom of this world is foolishness with God.

IT is remarkable that, about the time of our Saviour's coming into the world, all kinds of learning flourished to a very great degree, insomuch, that nothing is more frequent in the mouths of many men, even such who pretend to read and to know, than an extravagant praise and opinion of the wisdom and virtue of the Gentile sages of those days, and likewise of those antient philosophers who went before them, whose doctrines are left upon record either by themselves or other writers. As far as this may be taken for granted, it may be said, that the providence of God brought this about for several very wise ends and purposes. For, it is certain that these philosophers had been a long time before searching out where to fix the true happiness of man; and, not being able to agree upon any certainty about it, they could not possibly but conclude, if they judged impartially, that all their enquiries were, in the end, but vain and fruitless; the consequence of which must be, not only an acknowledgment of the weakness of all human wisdom, but likewise an open passage hereby made, for the letting in those beams of light, which the glorious sunshine of the gospel then brought into the world, by revealing those hidden truths, which they had so long before been labouring to discover, and fixing the general happiness of mankind beyond all controversy and dispute. And therefore the providence of God wisely suffered men of deep genius and learning then to arise, who should search into the truth of the gospel now made known, and canvass its doctrines with all the subtility and knowledge they were masters of, and in the end freely acknowledge that to be the true wisdom only which cometh from above.—James iii. 15, 16, 17.

However, to make a further enquiry into the truth of this observation, I doubt not but there is reason to think, that a great many of those encomiums given to antient philosophers are taken upon trust, and by a sort of men who are not very likely to be at the pains of an enquiry that would employ so much time and thinking. For the usual ends why men affect this kind of discourse, appear generally to be either out of ostentation, that they may pass upon the world for persons of great knowledge and observation; or, what is worse, there are some who highly exalt the wisdom of those Gentile sages, thereby obliquely to glance at, and traduce Divine Revelation, and more especially that of the gospel; for the consequence they would have us draw, is this: that, since those antient philosophers rose to a greater pitch of wisdom and virtue than was ever known among Christians, and all this purely upon the strength of their own reason and liberty of thinking; therefore it must follow, that either all Revelation is false, or, what is worse, that it hath depraved the nature of man, and left him worse than it found him.

But this high opinion of Heathen wisdom is not very antient in the world, nor at all countenanced from primitive times: Our Saviour had but a low esteem of it, as appears by his treatment of the Pharisees and Sadducees, who followed the doctrines of Plato and Epicurus. St. Paul likewise, who was well versed in all the Grecian literature, seems very much to despise their philosophy, as we find in his writings, cautioning the Colossians to beware lest any man spoil them through philosophy and vain deceit. And, in another place, he adviseth Timothy to avoid prophane and vain babblings, and oppositions of science, falsely so called; that is, not to introduce into the Christian doctrine the janglings of those vain philosophers, which they would pass upon the world for science. And the reasons he gives are, first, That those who professed them, did err concerning the faith: Secondly, Because the knowledge of them did encrease ungodliness, vain babblings being otherways expounded vanities, or empty sounds; that is, tedious disputes about words, which the philosophers were always so full of, and which were the natural product of disputes and dissentions between several sects.

Neither had the primitive fathers any great or good opinion of the Heathen philosophy, as it is manifest from several passages in their writings: So that this vein of affecting to raise the reputation of those sages so high, is a mode and a vice but of yesterday, assumed chiefly, as I have said, to disparage revealed knowledge, and the consequences of it, among us.

Now, because this is a prejudice which may prevail with some persons, so far as to lessen the influence of the gospel; and whereas, therefore, this is an opinion which men of education are like to be encountered with, when they have produced themselves into the world; I shall endeavour to shew, that their preference of Heathen wisdom and virtue, before that of the Christian, is every way unjust, and grounded upon ignorance or mistake: In order to which I shall consider four things.

First, I shall produce certain points, wherein the wisdom and virtue of all unrevealed philosophy in general, fell short, and was very imperfect.

Secondly, I shall shew, in several instances, where some of the most renowned philosophers have been grossly defective in their lessons of morality.

Thirdly, I shall prove the perfection of Christian wisdom, from the proper characters and marks of it.

Lastly, I shall shew that the great examples of wisdom and virtue among the Heathen wise men, were produced by personal merit, and not influenced by the doctrine of any sect; whereas, in Christianity, it is quite the contrary.

First, I shall produce certain points, wherein the wisdom and virtue of all unrevealed philosophy in general fell short, and was very imperfect.

My design is to persuade men, that Christian philosophy is in all things preferable to Heathen wisdom; from which, or its professors, I shall however have no occasion to detract. They were as wise and as good as it was possible for them under such disadvantages, and would have probably been infinitely more with such aids as we enjoy: But our lessons are certainly much better, however our practices may fall short.

The first point I shall mention was that universal defect which

was in all their schemes, that they could not agree about their chief good, or wherein to place the happiness of mankind, nor had any of them a tolerable answer upon this difficulty, to satisfy a reasonable person. For, to say, as the most plausible of them did, that happiness consisted in virtue, was but vain babbling, and a mere sound of words, to amuse others and themselves; because they were not agreed what this virtue was, or wherein it did consist; and likewise, because several among the best of them taught quite different things, placing happiness in health or good fortune, in riches or in honour, where all were agreed that virtue was not, as I shall have occasion to shew, when I speak of their particular tenets.

The second great defect in the Gentile philosophy was, that it wanted some suitable reward proportioned to the better part of man, his mind, as an encouragement for his progress in virtue. The difficulties they met with upon the score of this default were great, and not to be accounted for: Bodily goods, being only suitable to bodily wants, are no rest at all for the mind; and, if they were, yet are they not the proper fruits of wisdom and virtue, being equally attainable by the ignorant and wicked. Now, human nature is so constituted, that we can never pursue any thing heartily but upon hopes of a reward. If we run a race, it is in expectation of a prize, and the greater the prize the faster we run; for an incorruptible crown, if we understand it and believe it to be such, more than a corruptible one. But some of the philosophers gave all this quite another turn, and pretended to refine so far, as to call virtue its own reward, and worthy to be followed only for itself: Whereas, if there be any thing in this more than the sound of the words, it is at least too abstracted to become an universal influencing principle in the world, and therefore could not be of general use.

It was the want of assigning some happiness, proportioned to the soul of man, that caused many of them, either, on the one hand, to be sour and morose, supercilious and untreatable; or, on the other, to fall into the vulgar pursuits of common men, to hunt after greatness and riches, to make their court, and to serve occasions; as Plato did to the younger Dionysius, and Aristotle

to Alexander the Great. So impossible is it for a man, who looks no further than the present world, to fix himself long in a contemplation where the present world hath no part. He hath no sure hold, no firm footing; he can never expect to remove the earth he rests upon, while he hath no support beside for his feet, but wants, like Archimedes, some other place whereon to stand. To talk of bearing pain and grief, without any sort of present or future hope, cannot be purely greatness of spirit; there must be a mixture in it of affectation, and an allay of pride, or perhaps is wholely counterfeit.

It is true there hath been all along in the world a notion of rewards and punishments in another life; but it seems to have rather served as an entertainment to poets, or as a terror of children, than a settled principle, by which men pretended to govern any of their actions. The last celebrated words of Socrates, a little before his death, do not seem to reckon or build much upon any such opinion; and Cæsar made no scruple to disown it, and ridicule it in open senate.

Thirdly, The greatest and wisest of all their philosophers were never able to give any satisfaction, to others and themselves, in their notions of a Deity. They were often extremely gross and absurd in their conceptions; and those who made the fairest conjectures are such as were generally allowed by the learned to have seen the system of Moses, if I may so call it, who was in great reputation at that time in the Heathen world, as we find by Diodorus, Justin, Longinus, and other authors; for the rest, the wisest among them laid aside all notions after a Deity, as a disquisition vain and fruitless, which indeed it was, upon unrevealed principles; and those who ventured to engage too far fell into incoherence and confusion.

Fourthly, Those among them who had the justest conceptions of a Divine Power, and did also admit a Providence, had no notion at all of entirely relying and depending upon either; they trusted in themselves for all things: But, as for a trust or dependence upon God, they would not have understood the phrase; it made no part of the profane style.

Therefore it was, that, in all issues and events, which they

could not reconcile to their own sentiments of reason and justice, they were quite disconcerted: They had no retreat; but, upon every blow of adverse fortune, either affected to be indifferent, or grew sullen and severe, or else yielded and sunk like other men.

Having now produced certain points, wherein the wisdom and virtue of all unrevealed philosophy fell short, and was very imperfect; I go on, in the second place, to shew in several instances, where some of the most renowned philosophers have been grossly defective in their lessons of morality.

Thales, the founder of the Ionic sect, so celebrated for morality, being asked how a man might bear ill-fortune with the greatest ease, answered, 'By seeing his enemies in a worse condition.' An answer truly barbarous, unworthy of human nature, and which included such consequences as must destroy all society from the world.

Solon, lamenting the death of a son, one told him, 'You lament in vain:' 'Therefore (said he) I lament, because it is in vain.' This was a plain confession how imperfect all his philosophy was, and that something was still wanting. He owned that all his wisdom and morals were useless, and this upon one of the most frequent accidents in life. How much better could he have learned to support himself even from David, by his entire dependence upon God; and that before our Saviour had advanced the notions of religion to the height and perfection wherewith he hath instructed his disciples? Plato himself, with all his refinements, placed happiness in wisdom, health, good fortune, honour, and riches; and held that they who enjoyed all these were perfectly happy: Which opinion was indeed unworthy its owner, leaving the wise and the good man wholely at the mercy of uncertain chance, and to be miserable without resource.

His scholar, Aristotle, fell more grossly into the same notion; and plainly affirmed, That virtue, without the goods of fortune, was not sufficient for happiness, but that a wise man must be miserable in poverty and sickness. Nay, Diogenes himself, from whose pride and singularity one would have looked for other notions, delivered it as his opinion, That a poor old man was the most miserable thing in life.

Zeno also and his followers fell into many absurdities, among which nothing could be greater than that of maintaining all crimes to be equal, which, instead of making vice hateful, rendered it as a thing indifferent and familiar to all men.

Lastly, Epicurus had no notion of justice but as it was profitable; and his placing happiness in pleasure, with all the advantages he could expound it by, was liable to very great exception: For, although he taught that pleasure did consist in virtue, yet he did not any way fix or ascertain the boundaries of virtue, as he ought to have done; by which means he misled his followers into the greatest vices, making their names to become odious and scandalous, even in the Heathen world.

I have produced these few instances from a great many others, to shew the imperfection of Heathen philosophy, wherein I have confined myself wholely to their morality. And surely we may pronounce upon it in the words of St. James, that *This wisdom descended not from above, but was earthly and sensual!* What if I had produced their absurd notions about God and the soul? It would then have compleated the character given it by that Apostle, and appeared to have been devilish too. But, it is easy to observe, from the nature of these few particulars, that their defects in morals were purely the flagging and fainting of the mind, for want of a support by revelation from God.

I proceed therefore, in the third place, to shew the perfection of Christian wisdom from above, and I shall endeavour to make it appear from those proper characters and marks of it by the Apostle before-mentioned, in the third chapter, and 15th, 16th, and 17th verses.

The words run thus:

This wisdom descendeth not from above, but it is earthly, sensual, devilish.

For where envying and strife is, there is confusion, and every evil work.

But the wisdom that is from above, is first pure, then peaceable, gentle, and easy to be intreated, full of mercy and good fruits, without partiality, and without hypocrisy.

The wisdom from above is first pure. This purity of the mind and

spirit is peculiar to the gospel. Our Saviour says, *Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God.* A mind free from all pollution of lusts shall have a daily vision of God, whereof unrevealed religion can form no notion. This is it which keeps us unspotted from the world; and hereby many have been prevailed upon to live in the practice of all purity, holiness, and righteousness, far beyond the examples of the most celebrated philosophers.

It is *peaceable, gentle, and easy to be entreated.* The Christian doctrine teacheth us all those dispositions that make us affable and courteous, gentle and kind, without any morose leaven of pride or vanity, which entered into the composition of most Heathen schemes: So we are taught to be meek and lowly. Our Saviour's last legacy was Peace; and he commands us to forgive our offending brother unto seventy times seven. Christian wisdom is full of mercy and good works, teaching the height of all moral virtues, of which the Heathens fall infinitely short. Plato indeed (and it is worth observing) hath somewhere a dialogue, or part of one, about forgiving our enemies, which was perhaps the highest strain ever reached by man, without divine assistance; yet how little is that to what our Saviour commandeth us? *To love them that hate us; to bless them that curse us; and do good to them that despitefully use us.*

Christian wisdom is *without partiality*; it is not calculated for this or that nation or people, but the whole race of mankind: Not so the philosophical schemes, which were narrow and confined, adapted to their peculiar towns, governments, or sects; but, in every nation, he that feareth God and worketh righteousness, is accepted with him.

Lastly, It is *without hypocrisy*; it appears to be what it really is; it is all of a piece. By the doctrines of the gospel we are so far from being allowed to publish to the world those virtues we have not, that we are commanded to hide, even from ourselves, those we really have, and not to let our right hand know what our left hand doth; unlike several branches of the Heathen wisdom, which pretended to teach insensibility and indifference, magnanimity, and contempt of life, while, at the same time, in other parts it belied its own doctrines.

I come now, in the last place, to shew that the great examples of wisdom and virtue, among the Grecian sages, were produced by personal merit, and not influenced by the doctrine of any particular sect; whereas, in Christianity, it is quite the contrary.

The two virtues most celebrated by antient moralists were fortitude and temperance, as relating to the government of man in his private capacity, to which their schemes were generally addressed and confined; and the two instances, wherein those virtues arrived at the greatest height, were Socrates and Cato. But neither those, nor any other virtues possessed by these two, were at all owing to any lessons or doctrines of a sect. For Socrates himself was of none at all; and although Cato was called a Stoic, it was more from a resemblance of manners in his worst qualities, than that he avowed himself one of their disciples. The same may be affirmed of many other great men of antiquity. From whence I infer, that those who were renowned for virtue among them, were more obliged to the good natural dispositions of their own minds, than to the doctrines of any sect they pretended to follow.

On the other side, as the examples of fortitude and patience, among the primitive Christians, have been infinitely greater and more numerous, so they were altogether the product of their principles and doctrine; and were such as the same persons, without those aids, would never have arrived to. Of this truth most of the apostles, with many thousand martyrs, are a cloud of witnesses beyond exception. Having therefore spoken so largely upon the former heads, I shall dwell no longer upon this.

And, if it should here be objected, Why doth not Christianity still produce the same effects? it is easy to answer, First, That although the number of pretended Christians be great, yet that of true believers, in proportion to the other, was never so small; and it is a true lively faith alone, that by the assistance of God's grace, can influence our practice.

Secondly, we may answer, That Christianity itself hath very much suffered by being blended up with Gentile philosophy. The Platonic system, first taken into religion, was thought to have given matter for some early heresies in the church. When

disputes began to arise, the Peripatetic forms were introduced by Scotus, as best fitted for controversy. And, however this may now have become necessary, it was surely the author of a litigious vein, which hath since occasioned very pernicious consequences, stopt the progress of Christianity, and been a great promoter of vice, verifying that sentence given by St. James, and mentioned before, *Where envying and strife is, there is confusion, and every evil work.* This was the fatal stop to the Grecians, in their progress both of arts and arms: Their wise men were divided under several sects, and their governments under several commonwealths, all in opposition to each other; which engaged them in eternal quarrels among themselves, while they should have been armed against the common enemy. And I wish we had no other examples from the like causes, less foreign or antient than that. Diogenes said Socrates was a madman; the disciples of Zeno and Epicurus, nay of Plato and Aristotle, were engaged in fierce disputes about the most insignificant trifles. And, if this be the present language and practice among us Christians, no wonder that Christianity doth not still produce the same effects which it did at first, when it was received and embraced in its utmost purity and perfection. For such a wisdom as this cannot *descend from above*, but must be *earthly, sensual, devilish; full of confusion and every evil work:* Whereas *the wisdom from above, is first pure, then peaceable, gentle, and easy to be intreated, full of mercy and good fruits, without partiality, and without hypocrisy.* This is the true heavenly wisdom, which Christianity only can boast of, and which the greatest of the Heathen wise men could never arrive at.

Now to God the Father, *&c. &c.*

PRAYERS *for* STELLA

PRAYERS
FOR A
SICK PERSON
DURING HER
ILLNESS

The first he wrote Oct. 17, 1727.

MOST merciful Father, accept our humblest Prayers in Behalf of this thy languishing Servant: Forgive the Sins, the Frailties and Infirmities of her Life past. Accept the good Deeds she hath done, in such a Manner, that at whatever Time Thou shalt please to call her, she may be received into Everlasting Habitations. Give her Grace to continue sincerely thankful to Thee for the many Favours thou hast bestowed upon her: The Ability and Inclination and Practice to do Good, and those Virtues, which have procured the Esteem and Love of her Friends, and a most unspotted Name in the World. Oh GOD, thou dispensest thy Blessings and thy Punishments, as it becometh infinite Justice and Mercy; and since it was thy Pleasure to afflict her with a long, constant, weakly State of Health, make her truly sensible, that it was for very wise Ends, and was largely made up to her in other Blessings, more valuable and less common. Continue to her, O Lord, that Firmness and Constancy of Mind, wherewith thou hast most graciously endowed her, together with that Contempt of worldly Things and Vanities, that she hath shewn in the whole Conduct of her Life. O All-powerful Being, the least Motion of whose Will can create or destroy a World; pity us the mournful Friends of thy distressed Servant, who sink under the Weight of her present Con-

dition, and the Fear of losing the most valuable of our Friends: Restore her to us, O Lord, if it be thy gracious Will, or inspire us with Constancy and Resignation, to support ourselves under so heavy an Affliction. Restore her, O Lord, for the Sake of those Poor, who by losing her will be desolate, and those Sick, who will not only want her Bounty, but her Care and Tending; or else, in thy Mercy, raise up some other in her Place with equal Disposition, and better Abilities. Lessen, O Lord, we beseech thee, her bodily Pains, or give her a double Strength of Mind to support them. And if thou wilt soon take her to thyself, turn our Thoughts rather upon that Felicity, which we hope she shall enjoy, than upon that unspeakable Loss we shall endure. Let her Memory be ever dear unto us; and the Example of her many Virtues, as far as human Infirmity will admit, our constant Imitation. Accept, O Lord, these Prayers poured from the very Bottom of our Hearts, in thy Mercy, and for the Merits of our blessed Saviour. *Amen.*

The second Prayer was written *Nov.* 6, 1727.

O Merciful Father, who never afflictest thy Children, but for their own Good, and with Justice, over which thy Mercy always prevaileth, either to turn them to Repentance, or to punish them in the present Life, in order to reward them in a better; take Pity, we beseech thee, upon this thy poor afflicted Servant, languishing so long and so grievously under the Weight of thy Hand. Give her Strength, O Lord, to support her Weakness; and Patience to endure her Pains, without repining at thy Correction. Forgive every rash and inconsiderate Expression, which her Anguish may at any Time force from her Tongue, while her Heart continueth in an entire Submission to thy Will. Suppress in her, O Lord, all eager Desires of Life, and lessen her Fears of Death, by inspireing into her an humble, yet assured, Hope of thy Mercy. Give her a sincere Repentance for all her Transgressions and Omissions, and a firm Resolution to pass the Remainder of her Life in endeavouring to her utmost to observe all thy Precepts. We beseech thee likewise to compose

her Thoughts; and preserve to her the Use of her Memory and Reason during the Course of her Sickness. Give her a true Conception of the Vanity, Folly, and Insignificancy of all human Things; and strengthen her so as to beget in her a sincere Love of thee in the Midst of her Sufferings. Accept and impute all her good Deeds, and forgive her all those Offences against thee, which she hath sincerely repented of, or through the Frailty of Memory hath forgot. And now, O Lord, we turn to thee in Behalf of ourselves, and the rest of her sorrowful Friends. Let not our Grief afflict her Mind, and thereby have an ill Effect on her present Distempers. Forgive the Sorrow and Weakness of those among us, who sink under the Grief and Terror of losing so dear and useful a Friend. Accept and pardon our most earnest Prayers and Wishes for her longer Continuance in this evil World, to do what thou art pleased to call thy Service, and is only her bounden Duty; that she may be still a Comfort to us, and to all others who will want the Benefit of her Conversation, her Advice, her good Offices, or her Charity. And since thou hast promised, that where two or three are gathered together in thy Name, thou wilt be in the midst of them, to grant their Request; O gracious Lord, grant to us who are here met in thy Name, that those Requests, which in the utmost Sincerity and Earnestness of our Hearts we have now made in Behalf of this thy distressed Servant, and of ourselves, may effectually be answered, through the Merits of Jesus Christ our Lord. *Amen.*

A

PRAYER

FOR

STELLA

ALMIGHTY and most gracious Lord God, extend, we beseech thee, thy pity and compassion towards this thy languishing servant: Teach her to place her hope and confidence entirely in thee; give her a true sense of the emptiness and vanity of all earthly things; make her truly sensible of all the infirmities of her life past, and grant to her such a true sincere repentance, as is not to be repented of. Preserve her, O Lord, in a sound mind and understanding, during this thy visitation; keep her from both the sad extremes of presumption and despair. If thou shalt please to restore her to her former health, give her grace to be ever mindful of that mercy, and to keep those good resolutions she now makes in her sickness, so that no length of time, nor prosperity, may entice her to forget them. Let no thought of her misfortunes distract her mind, and prevent the means towards her recovery, or disturb her in her preparations for a better life. We beseech thee also, O Lord, of thy infinite goodness to remember the good actions of this thy servant; that the naked she hath cloathed, the hungry she hath fed, the sick and the fatherless whom she hath relieved, may be reckoned according to thy gracious promise, as if they had been done unto thee. Hearken, O Lord, to the prayers offered up by the friends of this thy servant in her behalf, and especially those now made by us unto thee. Give thy blessing to those endeavours used for her recovery; but take from her all violent desire, either of life or death, further than with resignation to thy holy will. And now, O Lord, we implore thy gracious favour towards us here met together; grant that the sense of this thy servant's weakness, may

add strength to our faith; that we, considering the infirmities of our nature, and the uncertainty of life, may, by this example, be drawn to repentance before it shall please thee to visit us in the like manner. Accept these prayers, we beseech Thee, for the sake of thy dear Son Jesus Christ, our Lord; who, with Thee and the Holy Ghost, liveth and reigneth ever one God world without end. Amen.

Thoughts *on* Religion

THOUGHTS
ON
RELIGION

I AM in all opinions to believe according to my own impartial reason; which I am bound to inform and improve, as far as my capacity and opportunities will permit.

It may be prudent in me to act sometimes by other men's reason, but I can think only by my own.

If another man's reason fully convinceth me, it becomes my own reason.

To say a man is bound to believe, is neither truth nor sense.

You may force men, by interest or punishment, to say or swear they believe, and to act as if they believed: You can go no further.

Every man, as a member of the commonwealth, ought to be content with the possession of his own opinion in private, without perplexing his neighbour or disturbing the public.

Violent zeal for truth hath an hundred to one odds to be either petulancy, ambition, or pride.

There is a degree of corruption wherein some nations, as bad as the world is, will proceed to an amendment; until which time particular men should be quiet.

To remove opinions fundamental in religion is impossible, and the attempt wicked, whether those opinions be true or false; unless your avowed design be to abolish that religion altogether. So, for instance, in the famous doctrine of Christ's divinity, which hath been universally received by all bodies of Christians, since the condemnation of Arianism under Constantine and his successors: Wherefore the proceedings of the Socinians are both vain and unwarrantable; because they will be never able to advance their own opinion, or meet any other success than breeding doubts and disturbances in the world. *Qui ratione sua disturbant mœnia mundi.*

The want of belief is a defect that ought to be concealed when it cannot be overcome.

The Christian religion, in the most early times, was proposed to the Jews and Heathens, without the article of Christ's divinity; which, I remember, Erasmus accounts for, by it's being too strong a meat for babes. Perhaps, if it were now softened by the Chinese missionaries, the conversion of those infidels would be less difficult: And we find by the Alcoran, it is the great stumbling-block of the Mahometans. But, in a country already Christian, to bring so fundamental a point of faith into debate, can have no consequences that are not pernicious to morals and public peace.

I have been often offended to find St. Paul's allegories, and other figures of Grecian eloquence, converted by divines into articles of faith.

God's mercy is over all his works, but divines of all sorts lessen that mercy too much.

I look upon myself, in the capacity of a clergyman, to be one appointed by providence for defending a post assigned me, and for gaining over as many enemies as I can. Although I think my cause is just, yet one great motion is my submitting to the pleasure of Providence, and to the laws of my country.

I am not answerable to God for the doubts that arise in my own breast, since they are the consequence of that reason which he hath planted in me, if I take care to conceal those doubts from others, if I use my best endeavours to subdue them, and if they have no influence on the conduct of my life.

I believe that thousands of men would be orthodox enough in certain points, if divines had not been too curious, or too narrow, in reducing orthodoxy within the compass of subtleties, niceties, and distinctions, with little warrant from Scripture, and less from reason or good policy.

I never saw, heard, nor read, that the clergy were beloved in any nation where Christianity was the religion of the country. Nothing can render them popular but some degree of persecution.

Those fine gentlemen who affect the humour of railing at the clergy, are, I think, bound in honour to turn parsons themselves, and shew us better examples.

Miserable mortals! can we contribute to the *honour and Glory of God*? I could wish that expression were struck out of our Prayer-books.

Liberty of conscience, properly speaking, is no more than the liberty of possessing our own thoughts and opinions, which every man enjoys without fear of the magistrate: But how far he shall publicly act in pursuance of those opinions, is to be regulated by the laws of the country. Perhaps, in my own thoughts, I prefer a well-instituted commonwealth before a monarchy; and I know several others of the same opinion. Now, if, upon this pretence, I should insist upon liberty of conscience, form conventicles of republicans, and print books, preferring that government, and condemning what is established, the magistrate would, with great justice, hang me and my disciples. It is the same case in religion, although not so avowed, where liberty of conscience, under the present acceptation, equally produces revolutions, or at least convulsions and disturbances in a state; which politicians would see well enough, if their eyes were not blinded by faction, and of which these kingdoms, as well as France, Sweden, and other countries, are flaming instances. Cromwell's notion upon this article, was natural and right; when, upon the surrender of a town in Ireland, the Popish governor insisted upon an article for liberty of conscience, Cromwell said, he meddled with no man's conscience; but, if by liberty of conscience, the governor meant the liberty of the Mass, he had express orders from the parliament of England against admitting any such liberty at all.

It is impossible that any thing so natural, so necessary, and so universal as death, should ever have been designed by providence as an evil to mankind.

Although reason were intended by providence to govern our passions, yet it seems that, in two points of the greatest moment to the being and continuance of the world, God hath intended our passions to prevail over reason. The first is, the propagation of our species, since no wise man ever married from the dictates of reason. The other is, the love of life, which, from the dictates of reason, every man would despise, and wish it at an end, or that it never had a beginning.

FURTHER THOUGHTS ON RELIGION

THE Scripture-system of man's creation, is what Christians are bound to believe, and seems most agreeable of all others to probability and reason. Adam was formed from a piece of clay, and Eve from one of his ribs. The text mentioneth nothing of his Maker's intending him for, except to rule over the beasts of the field and birds of the air. As to Eve, it doth not appear that her husband was her monarch, only she was to be his help meet, and placed in some degree of subjection.' However, before his fall, the beasts were his most obedient subjects, whom he governed by absolute power. After his eating the forbidden fruit, the course of nature was changed, the animals began to reject his government; some were able to escape by flight, and others were too fierce to be attacked. The Scripture mentioneth no particular acts of royalty in Adam over his posterity, who were cotemporary with him, or of any monarch until after the flood; whereof the first was Nimrod, the mighty hunter, who, as Milton expresseth it, made men, and not beasts, his prey. For men were easier caught by promises, and subdued by the folly or treachery of their own species. Whereas the brutes prevailed only by their courage or strength, which, among them, are peculiar to certain kinds. Lions, bears, elephants, and some other animals, are strong or valiant, and their species never degenerates in their native soil, except they happen to be enslaved or destroyed by human fraud: But men degenerate every day, merely by the folly, the perverseness, the avarice, the tyranny, the pride, the treachery, or inhumanity of their own kind.

A DEFENCE OF *English* Commodities

A DEFENCE OF *Engliſh* Commodities.

Being an

ANSWER to the PROPOSAL

For the Univerſal Uſe of

Iriſh Manufactures,

AND

Utterly rejecting and renouncing every Thing that is Wearable that comes from *England.*

Frangimur ſi Collidimur.

To which is Annexed,

An ELEGY upon the much lamented Death of Mr. DEMAR, the famous Rich Man, who Died at *Dublin* the 6th Day of *July*, 1720.

Written by Dean SWIFT.

Printed at *Dublin:* And Reprinted at *London*, by J. ROBERTS in *Warwick-Lane.* MDCCXX. Price 6*d.*

An ANSWER *to the Proposal for the Universal Use of* Irish *Manufactures,* &c.

I AM a Stranger to the Author of this Project, but I am sure he is not a Christian; and by this Mark I have no body to suspect amongst all my Acquaintance, but a *Tory* Doctor of Divinity. It may seem improbable, that one that has done all that in him lay to ruin his own Trade, should have so much Charity as to set up for an Improver of other Peoples; but if duly examined, he will appear all of a Piece, and consistent with himself; tho' he is for Tythes and Tillage, he sows no Corn, only Tares, and the Seeds of Discord and Contention, under the Cover of a Bandbox.

The *Palladium* was not more dear to the *Trojans*, than the Woollen Manufactory to the People of *England.*

They have persuaded themselves, that it is their ancient Inheritance, the Foundation of their Power, and even necessary to their Existence. This is emblematically expressed by setting their Magistrates upon Wool-Packs in the supreme Tribunal, to put them in mind, that They are the Support of their Authority, and to be the Object of their Care.

In these they cannot endure either Rivals or Partners; they are not more jealous of their Wives when an *Irishman* looks at them.

If any body cries out, that these Wool-Packs are in Danger, it immediately puts them into Fits and upon quarrelling.

This Reverend Projector for the Good of *Ireland* in the first place, turns Informer against her, and acquaints the People of *England*, that the Rents of *Irish* Lands have been paid hitherto by running Wool; which is not true, unless he means from *Dorsetshire.*

And after he has told *England*, that *Ireland* has supplied Foreign Markets with Wool, and enabled them to work for themselves, in order to preserve Peace and Unity, between the Two Kingdoms; he proposes, by way of Recompence, to prohibit every Thing in *Ireland* that is WEARABLE, that comes from *England.*

His Pleasure is, that every Thing shall be burnt that comes

from *England*, except the People and the Coals; and till this is done, *Ireland* will never be happy; and for this, he has a Sort of an old Prophecy delivered to him by the Archbishop of *Tuam*.

He is not yet (says he) for lessening the Number of these Exceptions, nor is he yet for *Abolishing Christianity*; but by the Weakness of his Reasons to the contrary, no body can believe him to be in earnest.

Non tanti Mitra est non tanti judicis ostrum.

He is for continuing the Reprieve or Benefit of this Exception to the *English* People; but how long? I suppose it is only till there is a convenient Opportunity of cutting their Throats.

But this Favour is not to extend to the *English* by Birth; he has fallen upon some of them already in the most bloody and inhuman Manner, and butchered their Reputations with the Cruelty of an Assassin and Barbarian, without the least Grounds or Foundation; a Madman, a *Grubstreet* Translator, and the Standard of Stupidity, are the best Titles he can afford to Persons of the greatest Worth, Rank, and Distinction.

Any body may know what Strain this Author is of, by his howling. These are the *Labia Latrantia* (which I find taken Notice of in an ancient Act of Parliament) that used to be so formidable to the *English* Nation in former Ages.

But this good Work cannot be done without a Law; and Laws cannot be made without the Consent of the Legislative Body, of which the Privy-Council in *England* is a Part, by *Poining's* Act. For this he finds an Expedient, an Ordinance of the Two Houses of Parliament, a Solemn League and Covenant, or an Association will do the Business; especially if their Honours of the Army come into it, to whom he has not Courage to speak, but gives a Hint.

I should be very glad, that the Gentlemen of *Ireland*, out of a publick Spirit, and a Regard to the common Interest of the Kingdom, would make it their Choice to be content with their own Manufactures, tho' dearer and worse than the *English*: But what Sentiments such a Prohibition would beget in *England*, and how far it is in their Power to make Reprisals, would be worth while

to consider. An Ordinance of this Nature was formerly made by an *Irish* Parliament, in the Reign of *Edward* the Third, when they had a much better Authority to do it, which was attended with a Resumption of their Liberties, and that produced a Rebellion, which ended in a Confiscation.

After he has awakened the Lion, and alarmed him with the Danger of his Whelps from *Ireland*, which at the same time he spirits up to attack them, and puts Arms and Ammunition into their Hands; he finds one great Obstacle in his way, and that is, that the People of *Ireland* are in their perfect Senses, which he endeavours to remove very prudently. For as God Almighty infatuates People sometimes, in order to make them destroy themselves; so the Devil mimicks him, and pursues the same Methods.

Quos vult perdere, dementat.

And therefore he applies himself with great Dexterity to drive them out of their Wits.

1*st*, He stimulates them with an Aggravation of their Wrongs, and instead of Oil pours Vinegar into their Wounds.

2*dly*, He recommends Madness as a Virtue, and one of the Daughters of Wisdom; and to prove it, calls God Almighty for a Witness, by vouching his Word, and perverting the Sense of it, which, in my Opinion, is the vilest of Perjuries; for I look upon an Interpreter of the Gospel to be as much upon his Oath, as a *Latimer* in the Courts of Justice.

Says he, Oppression makes wise Men mad, and therefore consequently speaking, if some Men are not mad, it is because they are not wise; however, it were to be wished, that Oppression would in time teach a little Wisdom to Fools.

He makes Madness to be one of the Daughters of Wisdom, which is known by her Children; and upbraids the Sobriety and good Temper of the People of *Ireland*, as an Evidence of their Folly; and then composes a short Form of Prayer for them under the Title of Fools.

The Text only means, that Oppression may make wise Men otherwise; not that it always does, for wise Men more frequently make Oppression light by bearing it.

True Wisdom and Virtue, often grow by Adversity.

Crescit sub pondere virtus.

And of this the People of *Ireland* are an Instance; for since they have been Wise, they have thriven like the Palm, even by the Weights that have been laid upon Them; and I don't know that ever they got any thing by their Madness, except it was to have their Horns pared; which I mention here only for the Benefit of a certain Alderman of my Acquaintance, who begins to be dissatisfied with his present State, and to murmur at the Higher-Powers that Providence has placed over him.

I have heard of a Puppy that hanged himself, because he could not make his Wife say the word *Cravent*; and of a certain King that cut his own Throat, only because he was not an Emperor. But I hope the Alderman will prove a better Christian, and that he will consider, that the Liberty of making use of *the Best in Christendom*, at least once a Week, is no hard Portion for an Alderman.

After he has done with the Holy Scriptures, the Author ransacks the Heathens for a Case in Point, in behalf of Madness; and he is so unfortunate, as to pitch upon the Fable of *Pallas* and *Arachne*.

Ovid relates it thus:

Arachne, a young Virgin, had been brought up by *Pallas* to great Perfection in the Art of Spinning and Weaving; but she was so ungrateful as to disown her Benefactress, and to give out in Speeches, that she excelled her. *Pallas* hearing of it, and taking it ill, came to her in the Shape of an old Woman, and advised her to avoid such Speeches, and to submit her self to the Goddess; but she called her an old Fool, upbraided the Infirmities of her Age, and bid her go and teach her Grandchildren, for that she was wise enough to rely upon her self, desiring her withal to carry a Challenge to *Pallas*; whereupon the Goddess revealed her self: *Arachne* was a little abashed, but still persisted in her Presumption; for which *Pallas*, after a long Trial, gave her a Stroke upon the Head, which deprived her of her Senses, and made her Hang her self. As she was hanging, the Goddess re-

lented, and cut the Rope; but to preserve the Letter, and ease the Severity of the first Sentence, she turned her into a Spider, with Liberty to exercise her Art only upon the Materials of her own Bowels. Upon which she and her Posterity were to Hang or Depend for ever.

> *. . . Pendentem miserata levavit*
> *Atq; ita vive quidem, pende tamen improba dixit.*
> *Lexq; Eadem Pœnæ ne sis secura futuri*
> *Facta tuo generi serisq; nepotibus esto.*

By *Arachne*, according to the best Mythologists, is meant the Devil; and by *Pallas*, the Deity.

The Pride, Vanity, Ingratitude and Presumption of the Creatures, and the Goodness, Wisdom and Justice of the Creator, are exhibited in this Story. The Moral of it is to caution us against this great Virtue, that this Author would inculcate, by shewing the ill Consequences of putting our Trust in our selves, and contending with God or our Superiours.

The Judgment is founded upon the standing Rules of Providence, which is to humble the proud, and has some Resemblance to that which was given against *Adam*, from whence some hold, the Poet took the Hint.

But on which side does our wise Projector declare himself; for *Pallas* or *Arachne*? Would any body imagine, that the Devil should be so foolish as to employ any body that would own he was of his side? and yet that is in effect the Case. He owns he has always pitied poor *Arachne* from a Child, and that he never could heartily love the Goddess, upon Account of the Injustice of this Sentence.

Could *Belphegor* himself have spoken with a greater Fellow-feeling and Tenderness for his Brethren? Or could any body express in plainer Terms, his Esteem for Pride, Vanity, Folly and Presumption, and his Hatred of Truth, Justice, and Wisdom.

He very candidly now gives his Reasons, why he never could heartily love God, and that it was upon account of his Cruelty and Injustice to the Devil. Poor *Arachne* is a great Object of Compassion, that was guilty of no other Crime, but Pride and

Presumption; and he is for reversing the Sentence of Heaven against her, lest it should be a Precedent in his own Case.

After he has made Madness pass for Wisdom, and Wisdom for Folly, and justified the Devil, and made God the Author of Sin; he does the Archbishop of *Dublin* the Honour to place him on his Right Hand, and to introduce him into the Company of his Favourites, with a Compliment upon his Qualifications to succeed St. *Peter*.

I can deny nothing to the Character of that Great, Good, and Learned Prelate, but Infallibility; and I am sure he has done nothing to deserve the Favour of the Conclave designedly; nor am I less sure that this Author would not have magnified his Deserts, if he had thought that he had not.

But *England* he salutes with a *Vade ad sinistram*, and places her on the same Bench with *Pallas*, and the rest of his Enemies.

But what has *England* done? Why, she has executed the Sentence of *Pallas* upon *Ireland*, and with Additions of Rigour and Severity: In what? If he means by *Ireland*, the native *Irish*, his Countrymen, as I believe he does, I must confess that he has once spoken Truth. They have been chastised by *England* with great Severity; and I am in great Hopes that they will take warning for the Future. But if they have had the Fate of *Arachne*, it was for the same Crime, *viz.* their Madness, Pride and Presumption: And yet though their Crime was as great, their Punishment does not seem quite so bad: They have been Metamorphosed, but into what? Not Spiders, but Men; they have been transformed from Savages into reasonable Creatures, and delivered from a State of Nature and Barbarism, and endowed with Civility and Humanity.

England has adorned them with her Habits, Language and Manners, and let them into all the Benefits and Privileges of her Laws, Policy, and Government; and some of them shine at this Day, in the highest Places of Honour and Trust under her Authority.

Vt omnes scirent patere virtuti viam.

And indeed to do Justice to the *Irish* Nation, they have afforded this Age some of the most Celebrated Wits, as well as the

most Renowned Heroes; in which Number I cannot deny this Author, (as wicked as he is) a principal Place, without departing from those Rules of Candour and Integrity by which I propose to walk.

But if he means the *English* settled in *Ireland*, who are best known by the Name of *Protestants*; what Reason have they to complain? If they have, they do not.

They retain one inseparable Property of *Englishmen*, which is to be *Tenacious* of their Liberties; but they are too wise to murmur at any thing they cannot help, without such Measures as would make the Hazard of losing all, much greater than the Prospect of Redress.

There is not a nobler Branch of the Reformed Religion, or of the *English* Nation, to be found in the World.

They are not only inviolably attached to the Interest of His Majesty's Royal House, but most affectionate to the *English* Name.

With this they are branded as a Crime, not only for being patient, but for being fond of every thing that comes from *England*, only for being *English*.

This Author has put Three Persons of the greatest Merit, in a most ridiculous Light, only to reflect upon the People of *Ireland*, for their Partiality in the Regards which they have shewn them; which if it had not been due to their Persons, makes the Compliment the greater to their Country. The Protestants of *Ireland* are sensible, that Nature and Circumstances, as well as Constitution and Original Right, have placed them under a Dependance upon their Mother Country, whose Protection and Justice they have the utmost Confidence in, and think it their great Happiness, that they have her to depend upon; because they cannot depend upon themselves, much less upon them whose Properties they enjoy, and whose Enmities can never be extinguished, as long as the Motives of Interest, Religion, and National Aversion endure.

Though it is very natural for every Man to covet to have a Mill of his own, especially a Miller; yet they don't think it unreasonable for the Head Landlord, upon a Division of the Soil

into Tenancies, to reserve Suit of Mill and Court to himself; that is to say, the Manufactury and Judicature, which were usual Tenures amongst the *Saxons*; and therefore they cheerfully submit to such Restrictions, as the Donor, under whom they claim, and by whose Warranty they subsist, has thought fit to impose upon them.

They are satisfied with their present State, and not desirous to meddle with the Forbidden-Tree, whilst they have Liberty to enjoy all the rest of the Fruits of the Garden; and whoever endeavours to persuade them to the contrary, they look upon him as an Emissary of the Devil.

This is the Sense of the Protestants of *Ireland*, which has been already expressed by the Presentments of the Two Grand Juries of the City and County of *Dublin*; and whoever endeavours to represent them otherwise, is an Incendiary.

The Serpent that now deludes them in the Form of a Projector, they were presently aware of; and knew him, notwithstanding the Shifting of his Skin, to be the same evil Genius that set the People of *England* against *their best and most faithful Allies*. He has Variety of Shapes; sometimes he is a Statesman and a Politician, sometimes he is a Priest, sometimes a Philosopher, and at other times a Tradesman; but for the most part a Ballad-Maker, a Punster, and a Merry-Andrew; unchangeable in this alone, that his constant End is to do Mischief, and to make People Mad in order to destroy them.

I shall conclude with the Speech that the Old Woman made to *Arachne*, (says she) *It is the greatest Happiness of Mortals to know themselves; a Friend can do them no greater Good than to instruct them with Fidelity; and an Enemy never gains a greater Advantage over them, than when he puffs up their Pride, and puts out their Eyes with Flattery, and engages them in Enterprizes to which they are unequal.*

Consider who you are, with whom you contend, and what it is you contend about. You are but a mortal Woman, tho' you excel all your Sex in Beauty and Skill; but Pallas *is a Goddess, renowned for Wisdom and Courage. Look into the Councils of the Gods, and you will find that* Jove *himself relies upon her: In the War with the Giants, she hurled Mountains at them. The Art of Spinning she has been possessed of from all Eternity,*

'tis her ancient Property: The Gods have most bountifully provided for you; Venus *has adorned you with her Beauty, and* Pallas *with her Skill: Don't provoke them by your Pride, Ingratitude, and Presumption, to withdraw the Blessings which they have bestowed upon you. Put not any Trust in* Mezentius, *who despises you, and would rejoice to see you miserable: He is a Contemner of the Gods, a Hater of Mankind, and a Lover of himself; he was lately kicked into the Island of* Lemnos, *for throwing Squibs at* Jupiter.

This is to the same Purpose with *Vulcan's* Speech to his Mother in *Homer*, when she quarrelled with her Husband, and may serve for an Instruction to States and Kingdoms, as well as Private Families.

Papers *Concerning the* Bank

THE WONDERFUL WONDER OF WONDERS

Written in the Year 1720.

THERE is a certain Person lately arrived at this City, whom it is very proper the World should be informed of. His Character may, perhaps, be thought very inconsistent, improbable, and unnatural: However, I intend to draw it with the utmost Regard to Truth. This, I am the better qualified to do, because he is a Sort of *Dependant* upon our Family, and *almost* of the same *Age*; although I cannot directly say, I have ever *seen* him. He is a Native of this Country, and hath lived long among us; but what appears wonderful, and hardly credible, was never seen *before*, by any Mortal.

IT is true, indeed, he always chuses the *lowest* Place in Company, and contrives it so, to keep *out of Sight*. It is reported, however, that in his younger Days he was frequently *exposed to View*; but always against his Will, and was sure to *smart* for it.

As to his Family; he came into the World a younger Brother, being of *six* Children, the *fourth* in order of Birth; of which the eldest is now *Head* of the House; the second and third carry *Arms*; but the two youngest are only *Footmen*: Some, indeed, add, that he hath likewise a Twin-Brother, who lives *over-against* him, and keeps a *Victualling-House*: He has the Reputation to be a *close*, *griping*, *squeezing* Fellow; and that when his Bags are *full*,

he is often *needy*; yet, when the Fit takes him, as fast as he gets, he *lets it fly*.

When in *Office*, no one *dischargeth* himself, or *does his Business better*. He hath sometimes *strained hard* for an honest Livelyhood; and never got *a Bit*, till every Body else had *done*.

One Practice appears very blameable in him; that every Morning he privately frequents *unclean Houses*, where any modest Person would blush to be seen. And, although this be generally known, yet the World, as censorious as it is, hath been so kind to overlook this Infirmity in him. To deal impartially, it must be granted, that he is too great a Lover of himself, and very often consults his own *Ease*, at the Expence of his best Friends. But this is one of his *blind Sides*; and the best of Men I fear are not without *them*.

He hath been constituted by the *higher* Powers in the Station of *Receiver-General*; in which Employment, some have censured him for playing *fast* and *loose*. He is likewise *Overseer* of the *Golden Mines*, which he daily inspects, when his Health will permit him.

He was long bred under a * *Master of Arts*, who instilled *good Principles* in him, but these were soon *corrupted*. I know not whether it deserves mention, that he is so very capricious, as to take it for an equal Affront to talk either of *kissing*, or *kicking* him; which hath occasioned a Thousand Quarrels: However, no body ever hath been so great a Sufferer for Faults, which he neither was, nor possibly could be guilty of.

In his *Religion* he has thus much of the Quaker, that he stands *always covered*, even in the Presence of the King: In most other Points, a perfect *Idolater*, although he endeavours to *conceal* it: For he is known to offer daily Sacrifices to certain *Subterraneous Nymphs*, whom he worships in an *humble Posture*, *prone on his Face*, and *stript stark naked*; and so leaves his *Offerings behind him*, which the *Priests* of those Goddesses are careful enough to remove upon certain Seasons, with the utmost Privacy at *Midnight*, and from thence maintain themselves and Families. In all *urgent*

* *Magister Artis, Ingenique Largitor Venter.*

Necessities and *Pressures*, he applies himself to these Deities, and sometimes even in the *Streets* and *High-ways*; from an Opinion that those Powers have an Influence in all Places; although their peculiar Residence be in Caverns under Ground. Upon these *Occasions*, the fairest Ladies will not refuse to *lend* their *Hands* to assist him: For, although they are ashamed to have him *seen* in their Company, or even so much as to hear him *named*; yet it is well known, that he is one of their *constant Followers*.

In *Politicks*, he always submits to what is *uppermost*; but he peruses Pamphlets on *both Sides* with great Impartiality, although seldom till *every Body else hath done with them*.

His *Learning* is of a mixed Kind; and he may properly be called a *Helluo librorum*, or another *Jacobus de Voragine*; although his Studies are chiefly confined to *School-men*, *Commentators*, and *German Divines*; together with *modern Poetry* and *Criticks*: And he is an *Atomick* Philosopher, strongly maintaining a *Void* in *Nature*, which he seems to have fairly proved by many *Experiments*.

I shall now proceed to describe some peculiar Qualities, which in several Instances seem to distinguish this Person from the common Race of other Mortals.

His *Grandfather* was a Member of the *Rump* Parliament, as the *Grandson* is of the *present*; where he often *rises*, sometimes *grumbles*, but never *speaks*. However, he lets nothing pass *willingly*, but what is *well digested*. His Courage is indisputable, for he will take the boldest Man alive *by the Nose*.

He is generally the *first a Bed* in the Family, and the *last up*; which is to be lamented; because when he happens to *rise before* the rest, it hath been thought to forebode some *good Fortune to his Superiors*.

As Wisdom is acquired by Age, so by every new *Wrinkle* in his *Face*, he is reported to gain some *new Knowledge*.

In him we may observe the true Effects and Consequences of *Tyranny* in a State: For, as he is a great *Oppressor* of all *below* him, so there is no body more *oppressed* by those *above* him: Yet in his Time, he hath been so highly in Favour, that many *illustrious Persons* have been entirely indebted to *him* for their *Preferments*.

He hath discovered from his own Experience the true *Point*,

wherein all human Actions, Projects, and Designs do chiefly *terminate*; and how *mean* and *sordid* they are *at the Bottom*.

It behoves the Publick to keep him *quiet*; for his *frequent Murmurs* are a certain Sign of *intestine Tumults*.

No Philosopher ever lamented more the Luxury, for which these Nations are so justly taxed; it hath been known to cost him *Tears of Blood*: For in his own Nature he is far from being *profuse*; although, indeed, he never stays a Night at a Gentleman's House, without *leaving something behind him*.

He receives, with great Submission, whatever his Patrons think fit to give him; and when they lay *heavy Burthens* upon him, which is frequent enough, he gets rid of them as soon as he can; but not without *some Labour*, and *much Grumbling*.

He is a perpetual *Hanger-on*; yet no Body knows how to be *without him*. He patiently suffers himself to be *kept under*, but loves to be well used; and in that Case, will sacrifice his *Vitals* to give you *Ease*; and he hath hardly one Acquaintance, for whom he hath not been *bound*; yet, as far as we can find, was never known to *lose* any Thing by it.

He is observed to be very *unquiet* in the Company of a *Frenchman* in *new Cloaths*, or a young *Coquet*.

He is, in short, the Subject of much *Mirth* and *Raillery*, which he seems to take well enough; although it hath not been observed, that ever any *good Thing* came from himself.

There is so general an Opinion of his Justice, that sometimes very *hard Cases* are left to his Decision: And while he *sits* upon them, he carries himself exactly *even between both Sides*, except where some *knotty Point* arises; and then he is observed to *lean* a little to the *Right*, or *Left*, as the *Matter* inclines him; but his Reasons for it are so manifest and convincing, that every Man approves them.

THE
WONDER
OF ALL THE
WONDERS,
THAT
Ever the WORLD wondered at.

Written in the Year 1721.

To all PERSONS *of* QUALITY *and others.*

NEWLY arrived at this City the famous Artist *John Emanuel Schoits*, who, to the great Surprise and Satisfaction of all Spectators, does the following wonderful Performances, the like before never seen in this Kingdom.

HE heats a Bar of Iron red hot, and thrusts it into a Barrel of Gunpowder before all the Company, and it shall not take Fire.

HE lets any Gentleman charge a Blunderbuss, with the same Gunpowder, and twelve Leaden Bullets; which Blunderbuss the said Artist discharges full in the Face of the said Company, without doing the least Hurt; the Bullets sticking in the Wall behind them.

HE takes any Gentleman's own Sword, and runs it through the said Gentleman's Body, so that the Point appears bloody at the Back, to all the Spectators; then he takes out the Sword, wipes it clean, and returns it to the Owner; who receives no manner of Hurt.

HE takes a Pot of scalding Oil, and throws it by great Ladles full directly at the Ladies, without spoiling their Cloaths, or burning their Skins.

HE takes any Person of Quality's Child, from two Years old to six, and lets the Child's own Father or Mother take a Pike in

their Hands; then the Artist takes the Child in his Arms and tosses it upon the Point of the Pike, where it sticks, to the great Satisfaction of all Spectators; and is then taken off without so much as an Hole in his Coat.

He mounts upon a Scaffold, just over the Spectators, and from thence throws down a great Quantity of large Tiles and Stones, which fall like so many Pillows, without so much as discomposing either Perukes or Head-dresses.

He takes any Person of Quality up to the said Scaffold, which Person pulls off his Shoes and leaps nine Feet directly down on a Board prepared on purpose, full of sharp Spikes six Inches long, without hurting his Feet, or damaging his Stockings.

He places the said Board on a Chair, upon which a Lady sits down with another Lady upon her Lap; while the Spikes, instead of entering into the under Lady's Flesh, will feel like a Velvet Cushion.

He takes any Person of Quality's Footman; ties a Rope about his bare Neck, and draws him up by Pullies to the Ceiling, and there keeps him hanging as long as his Master or the Company pleases; the said Footman, to the Wonder and Delight of all Beholders, with a Pot of Ale in one Hand, and a Pipe in the other; and when he is let down, there will not appear the least Mark of the Cord about his Neck.

He bids a Lady's Maid put her Finger into a Cup of clear Liquor like Water; upon which her Face and both her Hands are immediately withered, like an old Woman of fourscore; her Belly swells as if she were within a Week of her Time, and her Legs are as thick as Mill-Posts; but upon putting her Finger into another Cup, she becomes as young and handsome as she was before.

He gives any Gentleman Leave to drive forty Twelve-penny Nails up to the Head in a Porter's Backside; and then he places the said Porter on a Loadstone Chair, which draws out every Nail, and the Porter feels no Pain.

He likewise draws the Teeth of half a Dozen Gentlemen; mixes and jumbles them in a Hat; gives any Person Leave to blindfold him, while he returns each their own, and fixes them as well as ever.

With his Fore-finger and Thumb he thrusts several Gentlemen's and Lady's Eyes out of their Heads, without the least Pain; at which Time they see an unspeakable Number of beautiful Colours; and after they are entertained to the full, he places them again in their proper Sockets, without any Damage to the Sight.

He lets any Gentleman drink a Quart of hot melted Lead; and by a Draught of prepared Liquor, of which he takes part himself, he makes the said Lead pass through the said Gentleman before all the Spectators, without any Damage: After which it is produced in a Cake to the Company.

With many other wonderful Performances of Art, too tedious here to mention.

The said Artist has performed before most Kings and Princes in *Europe* with great Applause.

He performs every Day (except *Sundays*) from Ten of the Clock to One in the Forenoon; and from Four till Seven in the Evening, at the new Inn in *Smithfield.*

The first Seat a *British* Crown, the second a *British* Half-Crown, and the lowest a *British* Shilling.

N.B. The best Hands in Town are to play at the said Show.

SUBSCRIBERS to the BANK

Plac'd according to

Their Order and Quality

WITH

NOTES and QUERIES.

A True and Exact Account of the NOBILITY, GENTRY, and TRADERS, of the Kingdom of *Ireland*, who, upon MATURE DELIBERATION, are of Opinion, That the Establishing a BANK upon Real Security, would be highly for the ADVANTAGE of the TRADE of the said Kingdom, and for ENCREASING the CURRENT SPECIES of Money in the same. Extracted from the LIST of the SUBSCRIBERS to the BANK of *Ireland*, Publish'd by Order of the Commissioners appointed to receive Subscriptions.

NOBILITY.

Arch Bishops	0
Marquisses	0
Earls	0
Viscounts	3
Barons	1
Bishops	2
French Baron	1

N.B. The Temporal Lords of *Ireland* are 125, the Bishops 22. In all 147, Exclusive of the aforesaid *French* Count.

GENTRY.

Baronets	1
Knights	1

N.B. Total of Baronets and Knights in *Ireland* uncertain; but in common Computation supposed to be more than Two.

Members of the House of *Commons*—41. One whereof reckoned before amongst the Two Knights.

N.B. Number of Commoners in all 300.

Esquires not Members of Parliament .. 37

N.B. There are at least 20 of the said 37 Esquires whose Names are little known, and whose Qualifications as Esqrs are referr'd to the *King at Arms*; and the said *King* is desired to send to the Publisher hereof a True Account of the whole Number of such *Real* or *Reputed* Esqrs. as are to be found in this Kingdom.

CLERGY.

Deans	1
Arch-Deacons	2
Rectors	3
Curates	2

N.B. Of this Number One *French* Dean, One *French* Curate, and One Bookseller.

Officers not Members of Parliament 16

N.B. Of the above Number 10 *French*; but uncertain whether on Whole or Half-Pay, Broken, or of the *Militia*.

WOMEN.

Ladies ..	1	
Widows ..	3	Whereof 1 qualify'd to be *Deputy-Governor*.
Maidens ..	4	

N.B. It being uncertain in what *Class* to place the Eight Female Subscribers, whether in that of *Nobility*, *Gentry*, &c. it is thought proper to Incert them here betwixt the *Officers* and *Traders*.

TRADERS.

Aldermen of	*Dublin*	1	A *French*-Man.
	Cork	1	
	Limerick	1	
	Waterford	0	
	Drogheda	0	
	&c.	0	

Merchants 29, *Viz.* 10 *French*, of *London* 1, of *Cork* 1, of *Belfast* 1.

N.B. The Place of Abode of Three of the said Merchants, *Viz.* of *London*, *Cork* and *Belfast*, being mentioned, the *Publisher* desires to know where the rest may be Wrote to, and whether they deal in *Whole-Sale* or *Retail*, *Viz.*

Masters-Dealers, &c. 59, Cashiers 1, Bankers 4, Chimist 1, Player 1, Popish Vintner 1, Bricklayer 1, Chandler 1, Doctors of Physick 4, Chirurgeons 2, Pewterer 1, Attorneys 4, (besides one Esqr. Attorney before reckoned) *French*-Men 8, but whether Pensioners, Barbers, or Markees, uncertain. As to the rest of the M—rs, the *Publisher* of this Paper, tho' he has us'd his utmost Diligence, has not been able to get a satisfactory Account either as to their Country, Trade or Profession.

N.B. The Total of Men, Women and Children in *Ireland*, besides *French*-Men, is 2,000000. Total of the Land of *Ireland* Acres 16,800000. (Vide Reasons for a BANK, &c.)

Quære, How many of the said Acres are in Possession of 1 *French* Baron, 1 *French* Dean, 1 *French* Curate, 1 *French* Alderman, 10 *French* Merchants, 8 Messieurs *Frances*, 1 Esq. Projector, 1 Esqr. Attorney, 6 Officers of the Army, 8 Women, 1 *London* Merchant, 1 *Cork* Merchant, 1 *Belfast* Merchant, 18 Merchants whose Places of Abode are not mention'd, 1 Cashier, 4 Bankers, 1 Gentleman-projector, 1 Player, 1 Chimist, 1 Popish Vintner, 1 Bricklayer, 1 Chandler, 4 Doctors of Phisick, 2 Chirurgeons, 1 Pewterer, 4 Gentlemen Attorneys, besides 28 Gentlemen Dealers, yet unknown. *Ut Supra.*

Dublin: Printed by *John Harding* in *Molesworth's-Court* in *Fishamble-Street.*

A

LETTER

TO THE

KING at ARMS.

From a REPUTED ESQUIRE,

One of The

SUBSCRIBERS to the BANK

SIR,

IN a late Printed Paper containing some NOTES and QUERIES upon that LIST of the SUBSCRIBERS Names which was Publish'd by Order of the COMMISSIONERS for receiving of SUBSCRIPTIONS, I find some *Hints* and *Innuendo's*, that would seem to Intimate, as if I and some others were only REPUTED ESQUIRES, and our CASE is referred to you in your *Kingly Capacity*. I desire you will please to let me know the lowest Price of a REAL 'Squire's Coat of Arms, and if we can agree, I will give my BOND to pay you out of the first INTEREST I receive for my *Subscription*; because Things are a *Little Low* with me at present, by Throwing my WHOLE FORTUNE into the BANK, having Subscribed for FIVE HUNDRED POUNDS *Sterl.*

I hope you will not question my Pretentions to this TITLE, when I let you know that my GOD-FATHER was a Justice of the Peace, and I my self have been often a KEEPER of it. My Father was a LEADER and COMMANDER of HORSE; in which POST he Rode before the greatest Lords of the Land, and in long MARCHES he alone Presided over the BAGGAGE, advancing directly BEFORE it. My *Mother* kept OPEN HOUSE in *DUBLIN*, where several Hundreds were supported with Meat and Drink bought at her own Charge, or with her PERSONAL CREDIT,

till some envious BREWERS and BUTCHERS forc'd *Her* to Retire.

As to my Self, I have been for several Years a FOOT-OFFICER and it was my Charge to Guard the CARRIAGES BEHIND, to which I was commanded to STICK CLOSE, that they might not be Attack'd in the REAR. I have had the Honour to be a Favourite of several FINE LADIES, who each of them at different Times gave me such PUBLICK MARKS OF DISTINCTION, that every one knew which of them it was to whom I PAID MY ADDRESS; they would not go into their Coach without me, nor willingly Drink unless I gave them the Glass with my OWN HAND. They allow'd me to call them my MISTRESSES, and own'd that TITLE Publickly.

I have been told, that the true Ancient Employment of a *Squire*, was to *carry* a Knight's Shield Painted with his *Colours* and *Coat of Arms*. This is what I have Witnesses enough to produce, that I have often *done*, not indeed in a Shield like my Predecessors, but that which is full as good, I have CARRIED the COLOURS of a Knight upon my own COAT. I have likewise borne the KING'S-ARMS in my HANDS as a MARK of AUTHORITY, and HUNG them PAINTED before my Dwelling-House as a Mark of my CALLING, so that I may Truly say His Majesties ARMS have been my SUPPORTERS. I have been a Strict and Constant FOLLOWER of Men of Quality, I have diligently PURSUED THE STEPS of several 'Squires, and am able to behave my-self as well as the best of them whenever there shall be Occasion.

I desire it may be no Disadvantage to me, that by the New Act of Parliament going to Pass for preserving the Game, I am not YET qualified to keep a GREY-HOUND. If this shou'd be the Test of 'SQUIRE-HOOD, it will go hard with a great Number of my FRATERNITY as well as my self, who must all be UN-'SQUIR'D, because a GREY-HOUND will not be allow'd to keep us Company; and it is well known I have been a Companion to his BETTERS. What has a GREY-HOUND to do with a 'SQUIRESHIP? Might not I be a REAL 'Squire although there was no such Thing as a *Grey-Hound* in the World? Pray tell me, Sir, are *Grey-Hounds* to be from henceforth SUPPORTERS of every 'SQUIRE's Coat of Arms?

Although I cannot KEEP a *Grey-Hound*, may not a *Grey-Hound* help to KEEP me? May not I have an Order from the *Governor* of the BANK to *Keep* a *Grey-Hound* with a *NON-OBSTANTE* to the Act of Parliament, as well as they have *Erected* a BANK against the VOTES of the Two HOUSES? But however this Difficulty will soon be overcome. I am promis'd 125l. a Year for Subscribing 500l. and of this 500l. I am to pay in only 25l. ready Money, the *Governors* will Trust me for the rest, and pay themselves out of the *Interest* by 25l. *per Cent.* so that I intend to receive only 40l. a Year to Qualify me for keeping my *Family* and a *Grey-Hound*, and let the remaining 85l. go on till it makes 500l. then 1,000l. then 10000l. then 100000l. then a Million, and so on. This I think is much better (betwixt you and me) than keeping *Fairs*, and Buying and Selling *Bullocks*, by which I find from Experience, that little is to be got in *These Hard Times*.

I am, Sir, Your Friend and Servant, to Command,

A. B. Esquire.

POSTSCRIPT.

I *Hope you will favourably represent my Case to the Publisher of the Paper above-mentioned.*

Direct your Letter for A. B. ESQUIRE, *at* ———— *in* EAR-CONNAUGHT, *and pray get some Parliament Man to frank it: For it will cost a* Groat *Postage to this Place.*

Dublin: Printed by John Harding in Molesworth's-Court.

SWEARERS BANK

OR,

Parliamentary Security for a new BANK.

Si Populus vult decipi, decipiatur.

TO believe every Thing, that is said by a certain Set of Men, and to doubt of nothing they relate, tho' ever so improbable, is a Maxim that has contributed as much for the Time, to the Support of *Irish* Banks, as it ever did to the Popish Religion, and they are not only beholden to the Latter for their Foundation; but they have the Happiness to have the same Patron Saint: For Ignorance, the reputed Mother of the Devotion of the one seems to bear the same affectionate Relation to the Credit of the other. To subscribe to Banks without knowing the Scheme or Design of them is not unlike to some Gentlemen's signing Addresses without knowing the Contents of them; to engage in a Bank that has neither Act of Parliament, Charter, nor Lands to support it, is like sending a Ship to Sea without Bottom, to expect a Coach and Six by the former would be as ridiculous, as to hope a return by the latter. It was well known sometime ago, that our Banks would be included in the Bubble Bill, and it was believed those Chimera's would necessarily vanish with the first Easterly Wind that should inform the Town of the Royal Assent. It was very mortifying to several Gentlemen who dream'd of nothing but easy Chariots on the arrival of the fatal Packet, to slip out of them into their walking Shoes. But should those Banks, as it is vainly imagin'd, be so fortunate as to obtain a Charter, and purchase Lands, yet on any run on them in a Time of Invasion, there would be so many starving Proprietors re-

viving their old Pretensions to Land, and a Belly full, that the Subscribers would be unwilling upon any call to part with their Money, not knowing what might happen; so that in a Rebellion where the Success was doubtful, the Bank would infallibly break. Since so many Gentlemen of this Town, have had the Courage without any Security to appear in the same Paper with a Million or two; its hoped when they are made sensible of their safety, that they will be prevailed to trust themselves in a neat Skin of Parchment with a single one. To encourage them the Undertaker proposes the erecting a Bank on Parliamentary Security and such Security as no Revolution or Change of Times can affect. To take away all Jealousy of any private View of the Undertaker, he assures the World, that he is now in a Garret in a very thin Wast coat, studying the publick Good, having given an undeniable Pledge of his Love to his Country, by pawning his Coat in order to defray the Expence of the Press. It's very well known, that by an Act of Parliament to prevent profane Swearing, the Person so offending on Oath made before a Magistrate forfeits a Shilling which may be levied with little Difficulty. It's almost unnecessary to mention, that this is become a Pet Vice among us, and tho' Age renders us unfit for other Vices, yet this, where it takes hold, never leaves us but with our Speech. So vast a Revenue might be rais'd by the Execution of this Act, that I have often wonder'd in such a scarcity of Funds that Methods have not been taken to make it serviceable to the Publick. I dare venture to say, if this Act was well executed in *England*, the Revenue of it applied to the Navy, would make the *English* Fleet a Terror to all *Europe*. It's computed by Geographers that there are Two Millions in this Kingdom, of which Number there may be said to be a Million of swearing Souls. Its thought there may be 5000 Gentlemen, every Gentleman, taking one with another, may afford to Swear an Oath every Day, which will yearly produce 1825000 Oaths, which Number of Shillings makes the Yearly Sum of 91250 l. The Farmers of this Kingdom who are computed to be 10000, are able to spend Yearly 500000 Oaths, which gives 25000 l. and it's conjectur'd that from the Bulk of the People 20 or 25000 l. may be yearly collected. These Computations are very

modest, since it is evident that there is a much greater Consumption of Oaths in this Kingdom, and consequently a much greater Sum might be Yearly rais'd. That it may be collected with Ease and regularity, it's purpos'd to settle Informers in great Towns in proportion to the Number of Inhabitants, and to have riding Officers in the Country, and since nothing brings a greater Contempt on any Profession than Poverty, it's determin'd to settle very handsome Salaries on the Gentlemen that are employ'd by the Bank, that they may by a generosity of living reconcile Men to an Office, that has lain under so much Scandal of late, as to be undertaken by none but Curates, Clerks of Meeting-Houses and broken Tradesmen.

It's resolv'd that none shall be preferr'd to those Employments, but Persons that are notorious for being constant Churchmen, and frequent Communicants, whose Piety will be a sufficient Security for their honest and industrious Execution of their Office. Its very probable that 20000 l. will be necessary to defray all Expences of Servants Salaries, &c. however there will be the clear yearly Sum of 100000 l. which may very justly claim a Million Subscription. It's determined to lay out the remaining unapplied Profits, which will be very considerable, towards the erecting and maintaining Charity Schools; a Design so beneficial to the Publick, and especially to the Protestant Interest of this Kingdom, has met with so much Encouragement from several great Patriots in *England*, that they have engaged to procure an Act to secure the sole Benefit of informing on this swearing Act, to the Agents and Servants of this new Bank, several of my Friends pretend to demonstrate that this Bank will in time vie with the South Sea Company, they insist that the Army dispend as many Oaths yearly as will produce 100000 l, neat.

There are computed to be 100 pretty Fellows in this Town that swear 50 Oaths a head daily, some of them wou'd think it hard to be stinted to an 100, this very branch wou'd produce a vast Sum yearly. The Fairs of this Kingdom will bring in a vast Revenue, the Oaths of a little *Connaught* One, as well as they could be numbred by two Persons, amounted to 3000, its true, that it would be impossible to turn all of them into ready Money,

for a Shilling is so great a Duty on swearing, that if it was carefully exacted, the common People might as well pretend to drink Wine as to swear, and an Oath would be as rare among them as a clean Shirt. A Servant that I employed to accompany the Militia their last Muster-Day, had scored down in the Compass of 8 Hours 300 Oaths; but as the putting the Act in Execution on those Days, would only fill the Stocks with Porters, and pawn Shops with Muskets and Swords; and as it would be matter of great Joy to Papists and disaffected Persons to see our Militia swear themselves out of their Guns and Swords; it's resolved that no Advantage shall be taken of any Militia Man's swearing while he is under Arms, nor shall any Advantage be taken of any Man's swearing in the four Courts, provided he is at hearing in the E———r, or has just paid off an Attorney's Bill. The Medicinal Use of Oaths is what the Undertaker would by no means discourage, especially where it is necessary to help the Lungs to throw off any distilling Humour, on Certificate of a Course of swearing prescribed by any Physician, a Permit will be given to the Patient by the proper Officer of the Bank, paying no more but six pence; 'Tis expected that a Scheme of so much Advantage to the Publick will meet with more Encouragement than their Chimœrical Banks, and the Undertaker hopes, that as he has spent a considerable Fortune in bringing this Scheme to bear, he may have the Satisfaction to see it take place, for the Publick Good, tho' he should have the Fate of most Projectors, to be undone. Its resolved that no Compositions shall be made nor Licences granted for swearing, under a Notion of applying the Money to pious Uses, a Practice so scandalous as is fit only for the See of *Rome*, where the Money arising from whoring Licences is applied *ad propagandam Fidem*, and to the Shame of *Smock-Alley*, and of all Protestant Whores (especially those who live under the Light of the Gospel Ministry) be it spoken, a Whore in *Rome* never lyes down but she hopes it will be the Means of converting some poor Heathen or Heretick. The swearing Revenues of the Town of *Cork* will be given for ever by the Bank to the Support of poor Clergymens Widows, and those of *Ringsend* will be allow'd to the Maintenance of Sailors Bastards. The Under-

taker designs in a few Days to appoint Time and Place for taking Subscriptions, the Subscribers must come prepared to pay down one fourth on subscribing. Postscript. The Jews of Rotterdam have offered to Farm the Revenues of *Dublin* at 20000 l. *per Annum*; several eminent Quakers are also willing to take them at that Rent, but the Undertaker has rejected their Proposals, being resolved to deal with none but Christians. Application may be made to him about them any Day at *Pat's* Coffee-House, where Attendance will be given.

Dublin: Printed by *Thomas Hume*, next Door to the *Walsh*'s-Head, in *Smock*-Alley.

A Letter from a L A D Y in Town to her Friend in the Country, Concerning the Bank. Or, The L I S T of the S U B S C R I B E R S farther Explain'd.

Dublin, Dec. 1. 1721.

Dr. Madam,

I CAME to Town Three Days before the BANK-Books were Open'd, and resolving to loose no Time, I sent for your Friend, and told him of your Resolutions to Subscribe 2000 l. that I had Directions from you to apply to him, and a Commission to Transact for you.

At first he look'd very grave and reserv'd, saying, He doubted I was come too late, for that so many Persons of Interest and Distinction of *Both* Sexes had apply'd, that he was afraid, that the Books would be full before they were open'd; however, he said, He would use all his Interest, and rather than you should be disappointed, he would assign one half of his own Subscription to you: At the same time letting me understand, That it was in Effect a Gift of so much Money, with some *Innuendo's* as if he expected a Præmium.

He then run out in high Raptures upon the BANK, and upon the great Advantages it would be both to the Subscribers and to the Kingdom, he extolled the Conduct of the Managers who had procured this BANK from the GOVERNMENT without any Consideration, for which *Former Projectors* had offer'd no less than FIFTY THOUSAND POUNDS. He affirmed that the Subscribers could make no less than 25 l. per Cent. for their whole Subscriptions, of which only one Twenty'th Part was to be Deposited, and then desir'd me to Compute the Value of the Present he had made.

I ask'd him whether he were sure this BANK would succeed? He told me, there was not the least Doubt of it, that the Necessity of Affairs requir'd it, whereof the Managers were so confident, that they had actually brought over the IRON-CHESTS to secure the Money; that the NOBILITY, GENTRY and TRADERS of the Kingdom, were upon Mature Deliberation, unani-

mously of Opinion, That a BANK was necessary, *&c.* That he had particularly discours'd with Three Eminent Persons of great Honour, Experience and Sagacity, distinguished for the Love of their Country, and their profound Knowledge in the general Interests of Kingdoms; and far above any Paltry Self-Interest: The First of which with great Strength of Argument asserted, *That we must have a BANK, and will have a BANK.* The Second, *That the South-Sea had occasion'd such a Dearth of Money in the Kingdom, that* Paper-Money *was as necessary now as* Brass-Money *was in the Time of King* JAMES, *and make us better able to pay our* TAXES *and our* PENSIONS. And the Third with great Volubility of Tongue, and uncommon Eloquence, affirmed, *That if People would not confide and believe in such a* Set of DIRECTORS *and* GOVERNORS, *as were intended to be Chosen, Neither would they believe in* MOSES *or the* PROPHETS.

He then began to Enlarge upon the great Advantages this BANK would be to the Publick, That it would *Improve Trade, Navigation, Manufactories*, and the *Cultivation of our Land; enable us to Govern* Foreign *Markets*, and *make other Nations Factorsfor us, who were NOW only Factors for them.* He then proceeded to a Jargon which I did not comprehend, of *Imports, Exports, Building Ships, Erecting Ware-Houses, Draining Bogs, Opening Rivers, Finding Coals, Building Towers, Raising Land, Sinking Interest*, &c. And when he was out of Breath, presented me with a Paper call'd REASONS for a BANK, Written, as he affirm'd, with Force of Reason, Conciseness and Perspicuity of Style, Elegancy in Phrase, Propriety in Diction, and with Masterly Stroaks in Political Calculations; and believing he had now fully convinced me, he advis'd me by all Means, That the Money I was to Deposite should be GUINEAS, presuming the Crowds would be so great, that the Clerks would dispatch me sooner.

We parted, I prepar'd my GOLD and the BOND, waited impatiently all the next Day when the BOOKS were opened, and being informed that vast Crowds of COACHES were attending in *Dirty-Lane*, and receiving no Message from our Friend, Concluded the BOOKS were filled, as he had alledged, but still ex-

pected to come in upon half his Subscription; and accordingly I received Notice to prepare against next Morning.

During this Time I accidentally heard that SOME of the Nobility and Gentry were violently bent against this Project, and among the rest, a certain LORD to whom I have the Honour to be Related, and well known. I waited on him, and gave him the whole History of my Proceedings in this Affair, desired his Advice and Opinion. I had no sooner ended my Story, than he fell into an immoderate Fit of Laughter, and the first Words he was able to speak distinctly were, That he laughed with greater Pleasure to himself, and as he hop'd less Pain to me, because I had neither paid in my Money, nor given Bonds. He begg'd of me to be in no Pain about the Cluster of COACHES in *Dirty-Lane*, for he suspected that the greatest Part of Gentlemens Coaches which made that Appearance, were either Lent or Hired to make a Figure, and he presum'd I would be of the same Opinion when I saw a LIST of the Subscribers; and I do affirm (says he) that to my certain Knowledge, the Managers and their UNDER-STRAPPERS are running about the Town all this Time Persuading, Pressing, and perhaps Bribing, Men, Women and Children, to fill their Books.

He told me he had seen the Books that very Day; that there was not half the Capital Subscrib'd, and it was a Doubt, and Matter of great Speculation; whether all the Subscribers had paid in the Twenty'th Part, and given all the BONDS and JUDGMENTS for the Remainder. He confessed there were some Persons of *Honour*, *Estates* and good *Distinction* amongst the Subscribers, but these were in some Alliance with the Managers, and chief Promoters of the BANK: And generally Speaking, the Rest consisted of Press'd Men, and *French* Voluntiers.

He allowed the (Since chosen) intended *Governor* to be a Person of great Integrity and Honourable Intentions, and gave the greatest Credit to the Projectors, but was sorry he was drawn in, upon any Considerations, or by any Perswasions, into a Project to which the Nation was so utterly averse.

I was exceedingly surprized, and entreated him to let me know for what Reasons so great a Majority could oppose this SCHEME?

His answer was, that he could Assign a great Number. But the Principal which prevailed with him, were these that follow.

First, Because he could not conceive that any Sufficient Security had been offer'd, or could be given by the BANK, for the Properties of the Subscribers, and Transferrers, and their Heirs.

Secondly, That no Security could Possibly be given that the Presumptive Power, which must be lodged in this BANK if it Succeeds, may not be exerted to the Destruction of the Liberties of the People, and then the next Evil to that, of being Dragooned, is that, of being Dragcona'de.

Thirdly, Because it is evident, if this BANK will take Place, and acquire that Degree of Wealth and Power, which may reasonably be apprehended, all that Wealth and Power must be naturally apply'd to its own Preservation, that is, to the arbitrary Will and Power of those to whom it owes its very Being, and Subsistence.

Fourthly, It is highly probable, that this is presumed, and actually is now, a *Protestant* Bank, it may drayn the greatest Part of the Species of Money from the Protestants, and leave them in Liew thereof only Paper, which can be of no Effect in Times of Confusion, either for their Defence or Subsistence; and consequently the ready Money, which must be allowed the Sinews of War, being in the Hands of the *Irish Papists*, may render them more formidable upon such a Juncture to the *English Protestant Interest* of *Ireland*, than they have ever been since the *Reformation*.

Besides these Reasons his Lordship farther added, that he could not well understand how a Country wholly Crampt in every Branch of its Trade, of Large Extent, ill Peopled, and abounding in Commodities, which they had neither Liberty to Export, nor Encouragement to Manufacture; could be benefitted by a Bank, which by all he had read, or heard, or observ'd in his Travels; was only useful in free Countries where the Territory was small, and the Trade General, and Unlimited; and Consequently where the Profit consisted in the buying and selling of Goods imported, from other Nations; and wholly accru'd to the *Publick*: Whereas the BANK propos'd amongst us, was to be the *Monopoly* of a few; he added, that Mr. MAXWELL in his *Letter* to Mr.

ROWLEY, had in several Particulars given up the Cause; but especially in one, where he allow'd that before the *Convulsion*, occasion'd by the *South-Sea*, from the natural Advantages of PEACE, and the very small Share of Trade allow'd us; the Interest of *Money* fell of itself to 6, and 5 and a half per Cent. which came very near to the only Advantage the BANK propos'd, and his Lordship saw no Reason why we might not now hope for the same Effect from Time, and our natural Advantages, when we have recover'd this Loss, as well as we did the Ruins of a long War, upon the Revolution, without venturing upon new Experiments, under which FRANCE, HOLLAND, and ENGLAND have sunk: and which our poor Crazy Constitution is ill able to support, and less able to retrieve. He said plainly, that he look'd upon Mr. MAXWELL as a Gentleman whose Intentions were better than his Abilities: That from poring upon *Dav'enant*, *Petty*, *Child*, and other *Reasoners* from *Political Arithmetic* he hath drawn Conclusions by no Means Calculated for the Circumstances and Condition of *Ireland*.

As a great Part of what he said was above my Capacity, so I could never have repeated it, if he had not been at the Trouble at my Request to have given it me in Writing, together with Mr. *Rowley's* Letter, where he told me the Subject was treated in so handsome a Manner, that he was sure it would both please and convince me.

After these general Arguments he got up and shut the Door, and in a very low Voice told me in Confidence the History of this *Project*, from its first Commencement, comparing it to the *Machine* of a *Watch* with its various Wheels and Movements while the main Spring was out of Sight, yet plainly discovered where the Hands pointed and directed. I dare not trust to your Eyes, what he could hardly trust to his own Ears; but, I was so throughly convinced from what he whispered, that I instantly wrote a Note to your Friend, and *told him you had altered your Opinion, and would not Subscribe to the* BANK, *desiring he would give himself no further Trouble.*

After this, I presumed to ask his Lordship two Questions: First, whether the Report were true that the LORD LIEU-

TENANT had interested himself in Favour of the BANK? He assured me it was notoriously False, and Groundless; for His GRACE had behaved himself with the utmost Candor and Indifferency, which appeared throughout the whole Transaction betwixt His GRACE and the *Negotiators*, leaving it to the Wisdom of the Nation to determine what might be profitable for us, whereof I hope the whole Kingdom without Distinction of Party, will ever retain a grateful Remembrance.

My second Question was, How it came to pass that the Commissioners and Managers of the *Bank*, opened the Books, and proceeded to take Subscriptions, after the KING in his SPEECH; in Tenderness to his *People*, had left it to the Consideration of PARLIAMENT; and after it appeared that a great Majority of both HOUSES, with the Voice of the *Nation* without Doors, had declared against it. He answered with a Smile, that for his own Part, he could conceive no possible Reason for this Proceeding, but that the Managers were resolved, at all Hazards, to recover the Expences they had been at, in negotiating the Affair of the BANK in ENGLAND, that by this bold Attempt they seem'd wholly to misrepresent and misapply the gracious Intentions of His MAJESTY, as if after he had loudly Proclaim'd in his SPEECH from the THRONE, that the People of IRELAND should have a BANK, if they pleased; He did at the same Time whisper to the Managers, that we should have a BANK, whether we pleas'd, or no.

I took Leave of his Lordship, and in a few Days found a great Deal of what he told me to be true. For a LIST of the Subscribers being published by the order of the Governours and Directors; there came out soon after a printed Paper with NOTES and QUERIES, wherein the Subscribers were Ranked in their proper Classes; which placed them in so ridiculous a Light, that they all began to be ashamed of one another. I took Paines to examine that Paper very carefully by the *Original List*, and found it in every Article to be a *Notorious Truth*, but not the *whole Truth*, for the Author hath Omitted.

One *French* Corn-Cutter,
One *French* Drawer,

One Deal-Merchant,
One *French* Apothecary,
One *Anabaptist* Clothier,
One Barrack-Master,
One Butcher,
One Agent's-Clerk,

Besides several *South-Seaers* and *Mississipians*.

When I saw this LIST, and observed the Situation of the Subscribing LADYS betwixt the SOLDIERS and TRADERS, I was highly Delighted that you were not one of the NUMBER. I was intimately Acquainted with one of them, and going to pay her a Visit was with some Difficulty admitted, She told me she had kept her Chamber some Days since the publishing of that Scandalous LIST, that she had been rallyed to *Death* by all her Acquaintance, that she had endeavour'd to get her MONEY back, or at least her *Bond* and *Judgment*, but could prevail for neither. That she resolved to petition the LORD CHANCELLOR for Relief, and confessed freely to me, that a Proposal was made her of a very Advantagious MATCH, which was brought almost to a Conclusion, but broke off when the GENTLEMAN came to know that her Fortune was in the BANK, alledging, that he could not Depend upon it, because that her *Bond* and *Judgment* was Lodged in the BANK, and that any PART or the whole thereof was lyable to the Demands of the DIRECTORS.

I am, MADAM, &c.

Dublin: Printed by John Harding.

THE
Last SPEECH and dying WORDS
OF THE
BANK of IRELAND

Which was Executed at COLLEGE-GREEN, on SATURDAY the 9th Inst.

I B. B. BANKER, expecting this Day to suffer, Recommend to you my Friends who supported me in this Affair, my Two Children (TRADE and CREDIT, well known to be mine Legitimately). I Declare my self Innocent and Not Guilty of any Fact I am Charged with, yet I am fully informed there are Three Setts of unthinking Evidences resolves the Ruin of me and my Family. The first Evidence I apprehend to be Piqued, the Second Prejudiced, and the Third drawn in ignorantly. I confess I endeavour'd to get a CHARTER for the Good of me and my Children, and [*illegible*] Council and his Friends to get me it, the Benches and their Friends not being consulted in this Affair, resolved to Condemn any thing I shou'd attempt without their Approbation; the Second Sort of Evidence are all prejudiced Persons, they understanding I wou'd Lend Money out at 5 per Cent. by which they wou'd suffer much, all their Money being out at 8 and 12 per Cent. The Third Evidence are the Ignorant (most to be pitied) who owe their Notion to PUNCH, it only wants NUTMEG to make it SOUTH-SEA, then Cry it down unanimously. A hard CASE, Gentlemen, that Report without Examining Fact shou'd be of Consequence, but Mr. PUNCH I hope will soon Die GLORIOUS! He having Run down BANK and LEGISLATURE, &c.

Gentlemen, before I Depart, I Declare my self of the True Faith according to the CHURCH of IRELAND as by LAW ESTABLISHED.

IMPRIMIS. I believe we have Less Sense, and more evil Nature in this Kingdom, than in any Part of Europe; I believe more, IRELAND will never get any Thing for its Advantage, we not having JUDGMENT to know whether it be so, or not, and more, its the Opinion under Hand of all our Writers, that we ought never to have a good Thing, or any Credit, because it may be applyed to an evil Use, a Way of arguing, that wou'd destroy every good Thing in being: And now, I beg Leave before the Death Warrant is signed, that you are for Destroying here, what all other COUNTRIES are for Supporting: For a BANK, with Men of common Understanding, is nothing else but CREDIT; and if you mistrust my Veracity, I dare venture to say for the Publick Good, that those Two hundred now concerned, will let Two hundred other Commoners take their Subscriptions, and I know Nobody fitter to be Trusted with our Money than Our Selves. But the Last Article of my FAITH and FEAR, is, that an Honest ENGLISH SOLE, who will use us according to the Opinion we have of each other may purchase some little Security among us: and to Him I will bequeath my CHARTER, &c. and so Die in PEACE and POVERTY, hoping some Friend or other will Grace me with an ELEGY.

Dublin: Printed by *John Harding* in *Molesworth's Court* in *Fishamble Street.*

AN

ACCOUNT

OF THE

Short LIFE, sudden DEATH, and pompous FUNERAL

OF

*Michy Windy*bank, &c.

IT is very uncertain where this CHILD was begotten, but the Mother was so exceeding ill, during the Time of her *Breeding*, that the Father, who was a doting and fond Husband, and who never had had a *Child* before, carried her to *England*, to have the Advice of the most *eminent Physicians*; to whom (as it is constantly affirmed) he gave no less in Fees than One Thousand Two Hundred *Guineas*: And after some time, having *Assurances from them* that she was in no danger from a *Miscarriage*, he returned with her to *Ireland*; where, in a short time, she fell in Labour, was *dangerously ill*, and at length was safely deliver'd of a BOY.

The *Child* came into the World with great *Shrieks* and *Cries*, which the Skilful about her imputed to *Gripes*, and a *Windy Cholick*; which still encreasing, they call'd in for the Assistance of four *eminent Physicians*, who held a Consultation, and, upon Enquiry, finding that the *Child* could not suck, and consequently must perish for want of Nourishment, advis'd to have it fed by a Spoon with *Asses Milk*, and that *Clysters* might be injected to help the *Gripes*.

The *Child* could not swallow a sufficient Quantity of the *Asses Milk* to nourish and support it, and the *Gripes* encreasing, a *French Apothecary* was order'd to prepare and inject a *Clyster*; who

declar'd, upon the Experiment, *That the Parts were so obstructed, that he could emit none of the Liquid, and that blowing in Wind would not recover it*: In short, notwithstanding all *Art*, *Industry* and *Expence*, the *Child* grew worse and worse, and being seiz'd with *violent Convulsions*, departed this Life *December* the 9th, 1721.

Sir *Oliver Windy*bank, in great Grief for the Loss of his *only Child*, and not entirely despairing of another, (fearing *IT* might be seiz'd with the same Distemper, and in order to enable the *Physicians* to make a *better Judgment* on the like Occasion) consented to have it open'd, and sent for a *French Surgeon* to perform the Operation, with strict Orders to preserve the *Guts* and *Garbage*, and to convey them into the Tomb of the *Windy*banks, where the Body of *Michy* was to be deposited.

The first Part of the Body that was open'd was the *Chest*, where nothing was found but a little extravasated *Blood*; but opening farther, it appear'd that the *Liver* and *Lungs* were corrupted, and that there was a *Polypus* in the *Heart*, which stopt Circulation.

The House was prodigiously crouded with Numbers, who came in, thro' Respect and Curiosity; and when the *Lower Belly* was open'd, there was such a nauseous Stench diffus'd, that about three Fourths of the Number went out of the *House*, and the rest staid to see the *Body* embalm'd.

Sir *Oliver* resolving to give him a decent and pompous FUNERAL, suitable to his *Quality*, sent to the King at Arms, who both agreed upon the *Ceremonials* and *Procession* of the FUNERAL in manner following:

First, That the *Child* should be embalm'd and lap'd in *Sheets of Paper*.

Secondly, That, for a Coffin, he should be enclosed up in an *Iron Chest*, to prevent INFECTION.

Thirdly, That he should be put into a Hearse to be drawn by Six Horses cloathed in *Black*; and that *Andrew Topham*, who proffer'd his Service, should drive the Hearse in a *Mask*, and that —— was to be the *Postillion*.

Fourthly, That the *Escutcheons* adorning the Hearse should be

the *insolvent Bonds* of Sir *Oliver* blotted and dyed Black, with the Arms of the *Windy*banks painted and quarter'd in White.

Fifthly, That the *Chief Mourner* should be the Person design'd for *MICH's* Governour, who was to be follow'd by Twelve other Mourners next ally'd to the *Child*.

Sixthly, Eight Female Mourners, led by Eight Clergymen in Scarfs and Crape Tippets, with their Faces cover'd with Hats and Hoods.

Seventhly, Seventy two poor *French Refugees*, being one for each Day of the *Child's* Life, with black Ribbons and black Bays-Frocks, to carry the Links, conducted by one *French Baron*, with a black Hat, Cap, *&c.*

Eighthly, Twenty two *Second Mourners* remotely related to Sir *Oliver*.

Ninthly, The Attendants (instead of *Rosemary*) to carry *Shreds of Papers* inscribed *MICHAEL WINDY*BANK, which are to be thrown after him into the *Vault*.

Tenthly, The Corps to be interr'd by one *French Dean*, after the Extempore Manner.

Note, The *Four Physicians* were not present at the *Funeral*, but had Mourning sent them.

The KEY

THE First of these Papers is manifestly a sharp, tho' merry, Piece of Satyr upon some great Wonder-working Projector, or Company of Projectors, whose Misfortune it is unhappily to propose such Schemes as meet with little or no Encouragement or Success, and are entertain'd only with the utmost Derision and Contempt: And it is evident from the prevailing, but perhaps unjust and mistaken Notions of the *Bank* of *Ireland*, that both these Pieces were peculiarly adapted to expose that Project to Ridicule, and by this Means to defeat an Undertaking so necessary, advantageous, and well recommended; which all the solid Arguments that could be brought against it were not sufficient to oppugn, without the concurring Assistance and whole Force of Bumbast. And now the Reader need not be inform'd, that *the short Life, sudden Death, and pompous Funeral of* Michy Windy*bank*, is a Triumph over the unhappy Miscarriage of the said Project.

The Compass of this Page is not sufficient to explain all the particular Passages of these Papers. It is very perceptible by the first, how artfully it is suppos'd immediate Destruction to the Subscribers, as to the Spectators in the several Articles, to joyn issue with the Operator or Projector, who in the latter is stiled the Father of *Michy Windy*bank, *viz.* Sir *Oliver St. George*. By the Child's *intended Governour*, who was to be *Chief Mourner*, is meant the Earl of *Abercorn*. By the *French Dean*, Dean *Ic . . . d.*

Eight *Female Mourners*, are eight *Female Subscribers*.

Eight *Clergymen*, *French Baron*, four *Physicians*, &c. are Subscribers of that Quality; which, with all the rest, may be seen at large in the List of them, according to their Order and Quality, publish'd in a Pamphlet entitled, *The Eyes of* IRELAND *Open*.

FINIS.

Papers concerning the Bank

3. Answers and other Documents

The Official List of Subscribers to the Bank

WHEREAS nothing can be a greater Security, that the BANK of IRELAND with the Powers granted to it, Shall be Well and Faithfully Managed, as well with the Regard to the Subscribers as to Those who shall either Trust or Transact with the Same, than that a good and prudent Choice be made of a Governor, Deputy Governor, and Twelve Directors.

To the Intent that every Person who has Subscribed Five Hundred Pounds, or upwards, for His or Her proper Use, and not in Trust for another, may have Time maturely to Consider in whose Hands they Judge proper to place so great a Trust.

The Commissioners appointed to receive Subscriptions for Erecting a BANK have order'd the following List to be Printed, with Marks distinguishing those who are qualified to be chosen Governor, another Mark distinguishing those who are Qualified to be chosen Deputy Governor or Directors, and another Mark distinguishing those who are only Qualified to give their Votes in the several Elections.

Every Person qualified to Vote, is hereby desired to Write a List of the Persons Names which He or She shall Judge proper to be chosen Governor, Deputy Governor and twelve Directors, and that they may Write the word Governor, Deputy Governor and Director, after each of the Names in their List respectively in a Scrole of Paper Roled up, to the Intent that according to the Majority of Votes, the several Officers may be Chosen.

Mark for a Person Qualified to be chosen Governor ——— ***
Mark for a Person Qualified to be chosen Deputy Governor or Director ——— **
Mark for a Person Qualified to Vote ——— *

A.

*** The Right Honourable Earl of Abercorn.
** Mr. John Aigoin, Merchant.
* John Allcock, Esq;
* Mr. John Anderson
* Colonel John Archer
* Mr. John Armstrong.

B.

** Right Honourable Lord Viscount Boyne.
*** Colonel Thomas Bligh
** Brinsly Butler, Esq;
** Mrs. Elizabeth Bligh, Widow
* Mrs. Katherine Bligh
* Mrs. Hannah Bligh
** Colonel Thomas Bellew
** Mr. Francis Bonham
* Mr. Peter Bere Merchant
* Mr. Edward Butler
** Thomas Burdit, Esq;
* Mrs. Ann Bureau, Widow
*** Captain Edward Brice
* Mr. William Binauld
* Francis Burton, Esq;
* Francis Bernard, Esq;
* Mr. William Barry
* Mr. James Brown, Merchant
* Mr. William Bourke
* Samuel Bindan, Esq;
* Robert Brown, Esq;
* Mr. Lewis Bertin, Merchant
* Mr. Henry Burrows, Merchant.

C.

** The Honour. Thomas Coote, Esq;
** Charles Coote, Esq;
*** Mr. Robert Clements, Junior.
*** John Coddington, Esq;
** Brigadier James Crofts
* Captain Gabriel Canasilhs
** Colonel Joseph Campbell
* Mr. Daniel Coningham, Merchant.
** David Chaigneau, Esq;
* Mr. Nicholas Cassel
* Michael Cuffe, Esq;
* Mr. Lewis Cromelin.
* Mr. William Clarke, Merchant.
* Mr. Elias Crips
* William Crosby, Esq;
* Christopher Chamberlin, Esq;
* Mr. Stephen Costilloe
* Thomas Crosby, Esq;
* Theophilus Clements, Esq;

D.

** Rt. Rev. Lord Bishop of Dromore
* Rt. Rev. Lord Bishop of Downe
*** Joshua Dawson, Esq;
** Arthur Dobbs, Esq;
* The Reverend Archdeacon Daniel
* Captain William Duponset
* Capt. Theophilus Debrizay, Sen.
* Capt. Theophilus Debrizay, Jun.
* Mr. John Darquier
* Mr. Walter Davey, Merchant
* John Dawson, Esq;
* Mrs. Ann Dowling

* Mrs. Katherine Downs
* Colonel Daniel Debernatre
* Major Charles Decreseront

E.

** Charles Echlin, Esq;
** Edward Eyre, Esq;
** Eyre Evans, Esq;
* The Reverend Robert Ecklin
* Mr. James Ecklin
* Mr. William Empson, Merchant
* Captain Isaac Estaunie
* Mr. Caleb Emerson
* Thomas Evans, Esq;
* Benjamin Everard, Esq;

F.

** The Right Honour. Lord Ferrard
*** James Forth, Esq;
** Michael Fleming, Esq;
** Mr. Daniel Falkiner, Banker
* Sir William Fowns, Kt.
* Mr. John Finlay, Merchant.

G.

*** Luke Gardiner, Esq;
*** Mr. Holland Goddard, Merchant in Cork.
** Mr. John Goddard, Merchant in London
* Mr. Nicholas Grueber, Merchant
* Mr. Thomas Green
* Mr. Godfrey Green
* Mr. Thomas Gibson, Merchant
* Mr. Lewis Griffith
* Edward Griffith, Esq;
* Captain Henry Gresmes
* Alexander Graydon, Esq;
* James Grattan, M. D.
* Mr. Thomas Gleadowe, Merchant
* Mr. John Galbaly, Merchant
* Mr. Isaac Gervereau

H.

* Rowley Hill, Esq;
* Mr. John Hall
* The Hon. Henry Hamilton, Esq;
* The Hon. Capt. Gustavus Hamilton
* Mr. John Healy
* Mr. James Howison
* Mr. Charles Howison, Merchant
* Hannibal Hall, Surgeon.
* Mr. William Hamilton
* Mrs. Ann Hall
* Mr. James Hamilton
** Rolston Humphrys, Esq;

I.

** John Irwin, Esq;
** Richard Jackson, Esq;
* Thomas Jackson, Esq;
* Mr. William Jackson
* Lewis Jones, Esq;
* Mr. William Jones

K.

* John Kennedy, Esq;
** Edmond Knapp, Esq; Alderman of Cork.

L.

*** The Right Honourable the Lord Viscount Limerick
** Nicholas Licet, Esq; Limerick
* Captain Mathew Lafitt
* Mr. Ralph Leland
* Mr. James La Rimbliere

M.

* The Honourable Justin Macarty Esq;
*** Thomas Medlicot, Esq; one of the Commissioners of His Majesty's Revenue.
*** Henry Maxwell, Esq;
*** Thomas Marley, Esq;
*** James Macartney, Esq;
** Isaac Manley, Esq;
** John Manly, Esq;
** Mr. William Montgomery, Mer.
* George Macartney, Esq;
** Mr. Richard Maguire, Banker.
* The Reverend Peter Maturin
* Patrick Mitchell, M. D.
* Mr. Stephen Mazyke, Merchant
* Mr. William Moore, Merchant
* Lady Margaret Maxwell
* James Manson, Esq;
* George Martin, M. D.
* Mr. Robert Mills
* The Reverend John Maxwell
* Mr. William Maple
* William Maynard, Esq;
* Robert Macusland, Esq;
* Mr. James Maculla.
* Philip Morel, Esq;
* Captain Malcom Macneal
* William Montgomery, Esq;

N.

*** Brigadier Robert Napier.
** Mr. Joseph Nuttal, Banker.
* Captain Toby Norris,
* Mr. William Noy.
* Mr. Alexander Nesbit.

O.

* Mr. Henry O Hara

P.

*** The Right Honourable Benjamin Parry, Esq;
*** John Pratt, Esq;
** Alderman John Porter
** John Preston, Esq;
* Henry Purdon, Esq;
* Mr. Lambert Pepper,
* Nathaniel Preston, Esq;

R.

** Henry Rose, Esq;
*** Philip Rawson, Esq;
** Mr. John Rieuset, Merchant
* Major David Renovard
* Mr. William Ryves, Merchant

S.

*** The Right Honourable Oliver St. George, Esq;
* Henry Sandford, Esq;
*** James Stevenson, Esq;
*** Mr. James Swift, Banker
*** Richard Sherlock, Esq;

** Francis Edmond Stafford, Esq;
** Mr. John Shaw, Merchant
* Mr. Silvanus Shore, Merchant
* Fielding Shaw, Esq;
* Mr. Simon Sandys
* William Stephens, M. D.
* The Reverend Archbald Stewart
* Ezekiel Stewart, Esq,
* William Stewart, Esq;
* Reverend James Smith
* Mrs. Ann Smith Widdow.
* Mr. Patrick Smith Merchant Belfast.

T.

*** Sir Thomas Taylor, Bart.
*** Thomas Taylor, Esq;
* Robert Taylor, Esq;
* Reverend Archdeacon Rob. Taylor
* Mr. John Taylor.
* James Topham, Esq;
* Mr. William Tighe
* Capt. John Charles Terote

V.

** Agmondisham Vesey, Esq;
** William Vesey, Esq;
** Barron Daniel Virazell
** George Vaughan, Esq;
* Thomas Upton, Esq;
* Mr. John Verrailles, Merchant
* Mr. Anthony Verrailles, Merchant
* Alderman John Vincent, Limerick
* Christopher Usher, Esq;

W.

*** Michael Ward, Esq;
** Major General OwenWinne, Esq;
* Captain Owen Wynne.
** Hugh Willoughby, Esq;
** Robert Waller, Esq;
* John Walker, Esq;
* John Walsh, Esq;
* Mr. William Westland
* Mr. Hugh White, Merchant
* Nicholas Ward, Esq;
* Edward Webber, Esq;

Y.

* The Reverend Dean John Yeard.

THE
Bank of IRELAND'S
ANSWER

To the Author of the Notes and Queries about Subscribers to the same. By way of Queries upon Queries.

1st Query IS the Author a Citizen or a Countryman; whether he Scribles for pence in Town, or Enveighs against the Bank for want of Money, or Money Security to put into it?

2d Query, Is this Author any Bird or a night Bird, or what time of the Year is he to be met with?

3d Query, Do's the suppos'd Author put Cyphers to the Miter, because perhaps the Fall of a White Staff broke his hopes of wearing one seven Years ago.

4th Query, Is the suppos'd Printer a real Printer, or a dispenser of Pye; Some body, or no body, or a John o' Stiles in the Clouds, seen no where but at the tail of a Street Ballad?

5th Quer. Do's the Author think to escape Scot free if an English half Crown can tempt his Printer to discover him.

Query, Is it because there is no Coat of Arms in his own Family that the suppos'd Author lays a such Task on the King at Arms: or Quer. whether he was ever at Court, who knows not the difference betwixt an Earl and a Viscount; or whether he has read the Academy of Compliments?

7th Quer. What Colour his Cloaths are off, whether White or Black, like his mind or otherwise.

Quere 8th Whether the Intention of seven Honble Peers, two Honoured Knights, twenty Esqrs: out of thirty seven, forty-one Commoners, eight Inferior Clergy-Men, Twelve Officers whether in full pay or of the Militia (who are no doubt Gentlemen of Integrity and worth) two Aldermen and Twenty six

Merchants, (leaving out London, one Cork, one Belfast, one,) be no more to be depended on, who have pay'd their Fortunes to support the Bank in Proportion to each Man's Subscriptions than the Malicious Surmise of a Mercenary Pen? Or the Contrary,

9th, Whether the Author was not put hard to it to fill up his Paper, when he brought in Marquesses, there being none in the Kingdom; or whether he did it not for sake of Nothing, to make his Libel all of a Piece. S. S. S. T.

10th Query, Whether the Author had his Survey of Acres in IRELAND from a Competent Judge or by hear-say? Or whether any of the Utsupre Gentlemen have not any of them more of these Acres in Possession then the said Author.

11th Quere, Is this Author a Book-keeper or a Teller, or do's he only carry Letters to and again from his Masters House to the Publick Notarys for the Sum of 6 and 6 pence a Week.

12th Query, Is this Author very well Assur'd that no Gentlemen besides those Mention'd in a List, will Subscribe to this Bank, or whether he has other Men's Pockets Subject to him as the Burlesque Poets of the Town, may be to Money'd Men.

13th Query Whether a Certain Lady mention'd in the List of Subscribers may not make a better Governour, Deputy Governor or Director than a Certain Person of that Sex who presides over Affairs of Moment not far off.

14th Quere; Why does not this Author put his Name to his Paper; or whether he be not asham'd of his Performance.

15th Query, Whether this Author wou'd not come into the Subscription on Condition he cou'd be Secur'd of a hundred per Cent by Mortgage on Trustee Purchaser without Contributing so much as to pay the Clerks Salary.

16th Query, was the Paper Writen over a Bottle, after a Bottle or Dream'd, over Night and sent next Morning.

Dublin Printed by C. CARTER; 1721:

Resolutions of the House of Lords in relation to the intended Bank in this Kingdom.

Die Mercurii 8° *die Novembris*, 1721.

RESOLVED, That the Erecting a Bank in this Kingdom, or Incorporating any Number of Persons into a Body Politick for the Management and Government of such Bank, may in the present Circumstances be Prejudicial and of Extream ill Consequence to this Kingdom.

Die Sabbati 16° *die Decembris*, 1721.

THE House having this Day under their Consideration the Matters relating to the late intended Bank of *Ireland*, came to the following Resolutions, *Vizt.*

Resolved, That if any Lord Spiritual or Temporal of this Kingdom shall Sollicit or Attempt the Erecting of a Publick Bank within the same, or the Procuring of a Charter for Incorporating any Number of Persons for that purpose, or shall be any way Aiding or Assisting thereunto, without the Consent of Parliament first had, He shall be Judged to Obstruct His Majesties Service, and shall be Deemed a Contemner of the Authority of this House, and a Betrayer of the Liberty of his Country.

Die Mercurii 20° *die Decembris*, 1721.

IT is Ordered by the Lords Spiritual and Temporal in Parliament Assembled, That the *Resolution* of this House of the Eighth of *November* last, And also the *Resolution* of this House of the Sixteenth Instant in relation to the intended Bank in this Kingdom, shall be forthwith Printed and Published.

En. Sterne Cler. Parliamentor.

DUBLIN: Printed by *Andrew Crooke*, Printer to the Kings most Excellent Majesty, at the *King's-Arms* in *Copper-Alley*, 1721.

4. Other Papers

A LIST OF TITLES OF OTHER PAPERS WRITTEN IN THIS CONTROVERSY.

Reasons offered for Erecting a Bank in Ireland; in a Letter to Hercules Rowley Esq. By Henry Maxwell Esq. Dublin: Printed by Aaron Rhames, and are to be sold by the Booksellers. 1721.

An Answer to a Book, intitled, Reasons offered for erecting a Bank in Ireland. In a Letter to Henry Maxwell Esq. by Hercules Rowley Esq. Dublin: Printed by and for Geo. Grierson at the two Bibles, in Essex Street. MDCCXXI.
[This was dated November 23.]

Mr. Maxwell's Second Letter to Mr. Rowley. Wherein the Objections against the Bank are answered. Dublin: Printed by Aaron Rhames, and Sold by the Booksellers. 1721.

An Answer to Mr. Maxwell's Second Letter to Mr. Rowley concerning the Bank. By Hercules Rowley Esq. Dublin: Printed by and for Geo. Grierson at the two Bibles, in Essex Street. MDCCXXI.

Remarks on Mr. Maxwell's and Mr. Rowley's Letters. Setting forth the Advantages of a Bank and Lumbards in Ireland. In a Letter to a Friend. Dublin: Printed by Aaron Rhames, and are to be sold by the Booksellers. 1721.

A Letter to the Gentlemen of the Landed Interest in Ireland, Relating to a Bank. Dublin: Printed by and for Aaron Rhames, and sold by the Booksellers. 1721.
[This refers to Maxwell and Rowley's pamphlets, and argues strongly in favour of the Bank.]

A Letter to Henry Maxwell, Esq.; Plainly shewing the great Danger that the Kingdom has escaped, and the great Inconveniences, that must of Necessity have happen'd, if a Bank had been establish'd in this Kingdom.—Dicere verum, quis vetat. Dublin: Printed by Thomas Hume in Smoak-Ally, 1721.

Dialogue between Mr. Freeport, a Merchant, and Tom Handy, a Tradesman, concerning the Bank. Printed 1721.

Objections against the general Bank in Ireland. Dublin: Printed 1721.

A Letter to a Member of Parliament Touching the late intended Bank. Dublin: Printed and are to be sold by the Booksellers. MDCCXXI.

A LETTER OF ADVICE TO A Young Poet

A LETTER OF ADVICE TO A Young Poet;

TOGETHER

With a PROPOSAL for the Encouragement of POETRY in this Kingdom.

Sic honor & nomen divinis vatibus atq;
Carminibus venit ——— Hor.

DUBLIN:
Printed for J. HYDE, in *Dames-ſtreet*, 1721

A LETTER *of* ADVICE *to a* Young POET; *together with a Proposal for the Encouragement of* Poetry *in this Kingdom.*

SIR.

AS I have always profess'd a Friendship for you, and for that Reason, have been more inquisitive into your Conduct and Studies than is usually agreeable to young Men; so I must own I am not a little pleas'd to find by your last Account, that you have entirely bent your Thoughts to *English Poetry*, with design to make it your Profession and Business. Two Reasons incline me to encourage you in this Study, one, the narrowness of your present Circumstances, the other, the great use of *Poetry* to Mankind and Society, and in every Employment of life. Upon these Views, I cannot but commend your wise Resolution to withdraw so early from other unprofitable and severe Studies, and betake your self to that, which, if you have good Luck, will advance your Fortune, and make you an Ornament to your Friends, and your Country. It may be your Justification and further Encouragement to consider, that *History*, Ancient or Modern, cannot furnish you an instance of one Person, Eminent in any Station, who was not in some measure vers'd in *Poetry*, or at least, a Well-wisher to the Professors of it; neither would I dispair to prove, if legally call'd thereto, that it is impossible to be a good *Soldier*, *Divine*, or *Lawyer*, or even so much as an Eminent *Bell-man*, or *Ballad-singer*, without some taste of *Poetry*, and a competent Skill in Versification: but I say the less of this because the renowned Sr. *P. Sidney* has exhausted the Subject before me in his *defence of Poesie*, on which I shall make no other Remark but this, that he argues there as if he really believed himself.

For my own part, having never made one Verse since I was at *School*, where I suffered too much for my Blunders in *Poetry* to have any love to it ever since; I am not able from any Experience of my own, to give you those instructions you desire, neither

will I Declare (for I love to conceal my Passions) how much I lament my neglect of *Poetry* in those Periods of my Life, which were properest for Improvements in that Ornamental part of Learning; besides my Age and Infirmities might well excuse me to you, as being unqualify'd to be your *Writing-Master* with Spectacles on, and a shaking Hand. However, that I may not be altogether wanting to you in an Affair of so much Importance to your Credit and Happiness, I shall here give you some scatter'd Thoughts upon the Subject, such as I have gather'd by Reading and Observation.

There is a certain little Instrument, the first of those in use with Scholars, and the meanest considering the Materials of it, whether it be a Joynt of Wheaten-Straw, (the old *Arcadian* Pipe) or just three inches of slender Wire, or a stript Feather, or a Corking-Pin. Furthermore, this same diminutive Tool, for the posture of it, usually reclines its Head on the Thumb of the right Hand, sustains the foremost Finger upon its Breast, and is it self supported by the second. This is commonly known by the name of a FESCUE, I shall here therefore condescend to be this little Elementary Guide, and point out some Particulars which may be of use to you in your Horn-Book of *Poetry*.

In the first place, I am not yet convinc'd, that it is at all necessary for a modern Poet to *believe in God*, or have any serious sense of Religion; and in this Article you must give me leave to suspect your Capacities, because Religion being what your Mother taught you, you will hardly find it possible at least not easy, all at once to get over those early Prejudices, so far as to think it better to be a *great Wit* than a *good Christian*, tho' herein the general practice is against you, so that if upon Enquiry you find in your self any such Softnesses, owing to the nature of your Education, my Advice is, that you forthwith lay down your Pen, as having no further business with it in the way of *Poetry*; unless you will be content to pass for an *Insipid* or will submit to be hooted at by your Fraternity, or can disguise your Religion as well-bred Men do their Learning, in Complaisance to Company.

For *Poetry*, as it has been manag'd for some Years past, by such as make a Business of it (and of such only I speak here; for I do

not call him a Poet that writes for his Diversion, any more than that Gentleman a Fidler who amuses himself with a Violin) I say our *Poetry* of late has been altogether disengag'd from the narrow notions of Virtue and Piety, because it has been found by Experience of our Professors, that the smallest quantity of Religion, like a single drop of Malt-Liquor in Claret, will muddy and discompose the brightest Poetical Genius.

Religion supposes Heaven and Hell, the Word of God and Sacraments and twenty other Circumstances, which taken seriously, are a wonderful check to Wit and Humour, and such as a true Poet cannot possibly give into with a saving to his Poetical License; but yet it is necessary for him, that others shou'd believe those things seriously, that his Wit may be exercised on their *Wisdom*, for so doing: For tho' a Wit need not have Religion, Religion is necessary to a Wit, as an Instrument is to the Hand that plays upon it: And for this the Moderns plead the Example of their great Idol *LUCRETIUS*, who had not been by half so eminent a Poet (as he truly was) but that he stood tip-toe on Religion. *Religio pedibus subjecta*, and by that rising Ground had the Advantage of all the Poets of his own or following Times, who were not mounted on the same Pedestal.

Besides, it is further to be observed, that *PETRONIUS*, another of their Favourites, speaking of the Qualifications of a good Poet, insists chiefly on the *Liber Spiritus*; by which, I have been ignorant enough heretofore to suppose he meant, a good Invention, or great compass of Thought, or a sprightly Imagination: But I have learned a better Construction from the Opinion and Practice of the Moderns; and taking it literally for a free Spirit, *i.e.* a Spirit or *Mind*, free or *disengag'd* from all Prejudices concerning God, Religion and another World, it is to me a plain Account why our present Sett of Poets are, and hold themselves oblig'd to be, *Free-Thinkers*.

But altho' I cannot recommend Religion upon the Practice of some of our most eminent *English* Poets, yet I can justly advise you, from their Example, to be conversant in the *Scriptures*, and, if possible, to make your self entirely Master of them: In which, however, I intend nothing less than imposing upon you a Task

of Piety. Far be it from me to desire you to believe them, or lay any great Stress upon their Authority, (in that you may do as you think fit) but to read them as a Piece of necessary Furniture for a *Wit* and a *Poet*; which is a very different View from that of a Christian. For I have made it my Observation that the greatest Wits have been the best Textuaries: Our modern Poets are, to a Man, almost as well read in the Scriptures as some of our Divines, and often abound more with the Phrase. They have read them Historically, Critically, Musically, Comically, Poetically, and every other Way except *Religiously*, and have found their Account in doing so. For the Scriptures are undoubtedly a Fund *of* Wit, and a Subject *for* Wit. You may, according to the modern Practice, be witty *upon* them or *out* of them: And to speak the Truth, but for them, I know not what our *Play-wrights* would do for Images, Allusions, Similitudes, Examples, or even Language it self. Shut up the Sacred Books, and I would be bound our Wit would run down like an Alarm, or fall as the Stocks did, and ruin half the Poets in these Kingdoms. And if that were the Case, how would most of that Tribe, (all, I think, but the *immortal Addison*, who made a better Use of his Bible, and a few more) who dealt so freely in that Fund, rejoice that they had drawn out in time, and left the present Generation of Poets to be the BUBBLES.

But here I must enter one Caution, and desire you to take Notice, that in this Advice of reading the Scriptures, I had not the least Thought concerning your Qualification that Way for Poetical *Orders*; which I mention because I find a Notion of that kind advanc'd by one of our *English* Poets, and, is I suppose, maintain'd by the rest. He says to *Spencer*, in a pretended Vision.

> ——*with Hands laid on ordain me fit*
> *For the great Cure and Ministry of Wit.*

which Passage is, in my Opinion, a notable Allusion to the Scriptures, and making (but reasonable) Allowances for the *small* Circumstance of Profaneness, bordering close upon Blasphemy, is *inimitably* fine; besides some useful Discoveries made in it, as, that there are Bishops in Poetry, that these Bishops must

ordain young Poets, and with laying on Hands, and that Poetry is a Cure of Souls; and consequently speaking, those who have such Cures ought to be Poets, and too often are so: And indeed, as of old, Poets and Priests were one and the same Function, the Alliance of those ministerial Offices is to this Day happily maintain'd in the same Persons; and this I take to be the only justifiable Reason for that Appellation which they so much affect, I mean the modest Title of DIVINE POETS. However, having never been present at the Ceremony of Ordaining to the Priesthood of Poetry, I own I have no Notion of the Thing, and shall say the less of it here.

The Scriptures then being generally both the Fountain and Subject of modern Wit, I could do no less than give them the Preference in your Reading. After a thorough Acquaintance with them, I would advise you to turn your thoughts to HUMAN LITERATURE, which yet I say, more in Compliance with vulgar Opinions than according to my own Sentiments.

For indeed, nothing has surprised me more than to see the Prejudices of Mankind as to this Matter of human Learning, who have generally thought it is necessary to be a good Scholar in order to be a good Poet, than which nothing is falser in Fact, or more contrary to Practice and Experience. Neither will I dispute the Matter, if any Man will undertake to shew me one professed Poet now in being, who is any thing of what may be justly called a *Scholar*, or is the worse *Poet* for that, but perhaps the better, for being so little encumbred with the Pedantry of Learning: 'Tis true, the contrary was the Opinion of our Forefathers, which we of this Age have *Devotion* enough to receive from them on their own Terms, and unexamin'd, but not *Sense* enough to perceive was a gross Mistake in them. So *Horace* has told us.

> *Scribendi recte sapere est & principium & fons,*
> *Rem tibi Socraticæ poterunt ostendere chartæ.*

But to see the different casts of Mens Heads, some not inferiour to that Poet in Understanding (if you will take their own Word for it,) do see no Consequence in this Rule, and are not ashamed to declare themselves of a contrary Opinion. Do not

many Men write well in common Account who have nothing of that Principle? Many are too *Wise* to be Poets, and others too much Poets to be *Wise*. Must a Man, forsooth, be no less than a Philosopher to be a Poet, when it is plain, that some of the greatest *Ideots* of the Age, are our prettiest Performers that way? And for this, I appeal to the Judgment and Observation of Mankind. Sir *Ph. Sidney's* notable Remark upon this Nation, may not be improper to mention here. He says, *In our Neighbour-Country* Ireland, *where true Learning goes very bare, yet are their Poets held in devout Reverence*; which shews, that Learning is no way necessary either to the making a Poet, or judging of him. And further, to see the Fate of things notwithstanding our Learning here, is as bare as ever, yet are our Poets not held as formerly, in devout Reverence, but are, perhaps, the most contemptible Race of Mortals now in this Kingdom, which is no less to be Wonder'd at, than Lamented.

Some of the old Philosophers were Poets (as according to the forementioned Author, *Socrates* and *Plato* were, which however, is what I did not know before) but that does not say, that all Poets are, or that any need be Philosophers, otherwise than as those are so call'd who are a little out at the Elbows. In which sense the great *SHAKESPEAR* might have been a Philosopher; but was no Scholar, yet was an excellent Poet. Neither do I think a late most judicious Critick so much mistaken, as others do, in advancing this Opinion, that *Shakespear had been a worse Poet had he been a better Scholar*: And Sir *Wm. Davenant* is another instance in the same kind. Nor must it be forgotten that *Plato* was an avow'd Enemy to Poets, which is perhaps the Reason why Poets have been always at Enmity with his Profession; and have rejected all Learning and Philosophy for the sake of that one Philosopher. As I take the matter, neither Philosophy, nor any part of Learning, is more necessary to *Poetry*, (which if you will believe the same Author is *the sum of all Learning*) than to know the Theory of Light, and the several Proportions and Diversifications of it in particular Colours is to a good Painter.

Whereas, therefore, a certain Author, call'd *Petronius Arbiter*, going upon the same Mistake, has confidently declar'd, that one

Ingredient of a good Poet, is, *Mens ingenti literarum flumine inundata*: I do on the contrary, declare that this his Assertion (to speak of it in the softest Terms) is no better than an invidious and unhandsome Reflection on all the *Gentlemen-Poets* of these Times; for with his good leave, much less than a Flood or Inundation will serve the Turn, which to my certain knowledge, some of our greatest Wits in your Poetical way, have not as much real Learning, as would cover a *Sixpence* in the bottom of a *Bason*; nor do I think the worse of them.

For to speak my private Opinion, I am for every Man's working upon his own Materials, and producing only what he can find within himself, which is commonly a better Stock than the owner knows it to be. I think Flowers of Wit ought to spring, as those in a Garden do, from their own Root and Stem, without Foreign Assistance. I would have a Man's Wit rather like a Fountain that feeds it self invisibly, than a River that is supply'd by several Streams from abroad.

Or if it be necessary, as the Case is with some barren Wits, to take in the Thoughts of others, in order to draw forth their own, as dry Pumps will not play till Water is thrown into them; in that Necessity, I would recommend some of the approv'd Standard-Authors of Antiquity for your Perusal, as a Poet and a Wit; because *Maggots* being what you look for, as *Monkeys* do for *Vermin* in their Keepers Heads, you will find they abound in good old Authors, as in rich old Cheese, not in the new; and for that Reason you must have the Classicks, especially the most *Wormeaten* of them, often in your Hands.

But with this Caution, that you are not to use those Ancients as unlucky Lads do their old Fathers, and make no Conscience of picking their Pockets and pillaging them. Your Business is not to steal *from* them, but to improve *upon* them, and make their Sentiments your own; which is an effect of great Judgment, and tho' difficult, yet very possible, without the Scurvy Imputation of Filching: For I humbly conceive, tho' I light my Candle at my Neighbour's Fire, that does not alter the Property, or make the Wyck, the Wax, or the Flame, or the whole Candle, less my own.

Possibly you may think it a very severe Task, to arrive at a

competent Knowledge of so many of the Ancients, as excel in their Way; and indeed it would be really so, but for the short and easie Method, lately found out, of Abstracts, Abridgments, and Summaries, &c. which are admirable Expedients for being very learned with little or no *Reading*, and have the same Use with Burning-Glasses, to collect the diffus'd Rays of Wit and Learning in Authors, and make them point with Warmth and Quickness upon the Reader's Imagination. And to this is nearly related that other modern Device of consulting Indexes, which is to read Books *Hebraically*, and begin where others usually end; and this is a compendious Way of coming to an Acquaintance with Authors: For Authors are to be us'd like *Lobsters*, you must look for the best Meat in the *Tails*, and lay the *Bodies* back again in the Dish. Your cunningest *Thieves* (and what else are *Readers*, who only read to *borrow*, i.e. to *steal*) use to cut off the Portmanteau from behind, without staying to dive into the Pockets of the Owner. Lastly, you are taught thus much in the very Elements of Philosophy, for one of the first Rules in Logick is, *Finis est primus in intentione.*

The learned World is therefore most highly indebted to a late painful and judicious Editor of the Classicks, who has labour'd in that new Way with exceeding Felicity. Every Author by his Management, Sweats under himself, being over-loaded with his own *Index* and carrys, like a North-Country Pedlar, all his Substance and Furniture upon his Back, and with as great Variety of Trifles. To him let all young Students make their Compliments for so much Time and Pains sav'd in the Pursuit of useful Knowledge; for whoever shortens a Road is a Benefactor to the Publick, and to every particular Person who has Occasion to travel that Way.

But to proceed. I have lamented nothing more in my Time than the disuse of some ingenious *little Plays* in fashion, with young Folks, when I was a Boy, and to which the great Facility of that Age, above ours, in Composing was certainly owing; and if any thing has brought a Damp upon the Versification of these Times, we have no further than this to go for the Cause of it. Now could these Sports be happily reviv'd, I am of Opinion

your wisest Course would be to apply your Thoughts to them, and never fail to make a Party when you can, in those profitable Diversions. For Example, *Crambo* is of extraordinary Use to good *Rhiming*, and Rhiming is what I have ever accounted the very Essential of a good Poet: And in that Notion I am not singular; for the aforesaid Sir *P. Sidney* has declar'd, that *the chief life of modern Versifying consisteth in the like sounding of Words, which we call Rhime*, which is an Authority, either without Exception, or above any Reply. Wherefore, you are ever to try a good Poem as you would a sound Pipkin, and if it rings well upon the Knuckle, be sure there is no Flaw in it. Verse without Rhime, is a Body without a Soul, (for the *chief life consisteth in the Rhime*) or a Bell without a Clapper; which, in Strictness, is no Bell, as being neither of Use nor Delight. And the same ever honoured Knight, with so musical an Ear, had that Veneration for the Tunableness and chiming of Verse, that he speaks of a Poet as one that has *the Reverend Title of a Rhimer*. Our celebrated *Milton* has done these Nations great Prejudice in this Particular, having spoil'd as many *reverend Rhimers* by his Example, as he has made *real Poets*.

For which Reason, I am overjoy'd to hear, that a very ingenious Youth of this Town is now upon the useful Design (for which he is never enough to be commended) of bestowing Rhime upon *Milton's Paradise-Lost*, which will make your Poem, in that only defective, more Heroick and Sonorous than it has hitherto been. I wish the Gentleman Success in the Performance, and, as it is a Work in which a young Man could not be more happily Employ'd, or appear in with greater advantage to his Character, so I am concern'd that it did not fall out to be your Province.

With much the same View, I would recommend to you the witty Play of *Pictures and Motto's*, which will furnish your Imagination with great store of *Images* and suitable *Devices*. We of these Kingdoms have found our account in this Diversion, as little as we Consider or Acknowledge it. For to this we owe our Eminent Felicity in Posies of Rings, Motto's of Snuff-Boxes, the Humours of Sign-Posts with their Elegant Inscriptions, &c. in

which kind of Productions, not any Nation in the World, no, not the *Dutch* themselves, will presume to Rival us.

For much the same Reason, it may be proper for you to have some insight into the Play call'd, *What is it like*, as of great use in common Practice to quicken slow Capacities, and improve the quickest: But the chief End of it is, to supply the Fancy with variety of *Similes* for all Subjects. It will teach you to bring things to a likeness, which have not the least imaginable Conformity in Nature, which is properly Creation, and the very business of a *Poet*, as his Name implies: and let me tell you, a good *Poet* can no more be without a stock of *Similes* by him, than a *Shoe-Maker* without his *Lasts*. He shou'd have them siz'd, and rang'd, and hung up in order in his Shop, ready for all Customers, and shap'd to the Feet of all sorts of Verse: And here I cou'd more fully (and I long to do it) insist upon the wonderful Harmony and Resemblance, between a *Poet* and a *Shoe-Maker*, in many Circumstances common to both; such as the binding of their Temples, the Stuff they work upon, and the paring Knife they use, &c. but that I would not digress, nor seem to trifle in so serious a matter.

Now I say, if you apply your self to these diminutive Sports (not to mention others of equal Ingenuity, such as *Draw-gloves*, *Cross-purposes*, *Questions and Commands*, and the rest) it is not to be conceived what Benefit (of Nature) you will find by them, and how they will open the body of your Invention. To these devote your Spare hours, or rather spare all your Hours to them, and then you will act as becomes a Wise Man, and make even Diversion an Improvement; like the inimitable management of the Bee, which does the whole business of Life at once, and at the same time both *Feeds*, and *Works*, and *Diverts* it self.

Your own Prudence will, I doubt not, direct you to take a place every Evening amongst the *Ingenious*, in the Corner of a certain *Coffee-House* in this Town, where you will receive a Turn equally right as to *Wit*, *Religion* and *Politicks*: As likewise to be as frequent at the *Play-House*, as you can afford, without selling your Books. For in our chast *Theatre*, even *CATO* himself might sit to the falling of the Curtain: Besides, you will sometimes meet with

tolerable Conversation amongst the *Players*, they are such a kind of Men as may pass upon the same Sort of Capacities, for *Wits* off the *Stage*, as they do for fine Gentlemen upon it. Besides that, I have known a Factor deal in as good Ware, and sell as Cheap as the Merchant himself that Employs him.

Add to this, the Expediency of furnishing out your Shelves with a choice collection of Modern *Miscellanies*, in the gayest Edition; and of reading all sorts of *Plays*, especially the *New*, and above all, those of our own Growth, printed by Subscription, in which Article of *Irish Manufacture*, I readily agree to the late Proposal, and am altogether for *rejecting and renouncing every Thing that comes from* England: To what purpose shou'd we go thither either for *Coals* or *Poetry*, when we have a *Vein* within our selves equally Good and more Convenient. *Lastly*,

A *Common-place-book*, is what a provident Poet cannot subsist without, for this proverbial Reason, that *great Wits have short Memories*; and whereas, on the other hand, *Poets* being *LYARS* by Profession, ought to have good Memories; to reconcile these, a Book of this sort is in the nature of a Supplimental Memory; or a Record of what occurs remarkable in every Days Reading or Conversation: There you enter not only your own original Thoughts, (which a hundred to one, are *few* and *insignificant*) but such of other Men as you think fit to make your own by entring them there. For take this for a Rule, when an Author is in your Books, you have the same demand upon him for his *Wit*, as a Merchant has for your *Money*, when you are in his.

By these few and easy Prescriptions (with the help of a good *Genius*) 'tis possible you may in a short time arrive at the Accomplishments of a *Poet*, and shine in that Character. As for your manner of Composing and choice of Subjects, I cannot take upon me to be your Director; but I will venture to give you some short Hints, which you may enlarge upon at your Leisure. Let me entreat you then, by no means to lay aside that Notion peculiar to our modern Refiners in *Poetry*, which is, that a *Poet* must never Write or Discourse as the ordinary part of Mankind do, but in Number and Verse, as an *Oracle*, which I mention the rather, because that upon this Principle, I have known Heroicks brought

into the Pulpit, and a whole Sermon compos'd and deliver'd in Blank Verse, to the vast Credit of the Preacher, no less than the real Entertainment and great Edification of the Audience.

The Secret of which I take to be this, when the matter of such Discourses is but meer *Clay*, or, as we usually call it, *Sad stuff*, the Preacher, who can afford no better, wisely Molds, and Polishes, and Drys, and Washes this piece of *Earthen-Ware*, and then Bakes it with Poetick Fire, after which it will Ring like any *Pancrock*, and is a good Dish to set before common Guests, as every Congregation is, that comes so often for Entertainment to one place.

There was a good old Custom in use which our Ancestors had of Invoking the Muses at the entrance of their Poems, I suppose by way of craving a Blessing: This the graceless *Moderns* have in a great measure laid aside, but are not to be followed in that Poetical *Impiety*; for altho' to nice Ears, such Invocations may sound Harsh and Disagreeable (as tuning Instruments is before a Consort) they are equally necessary. Again, You must not fail to dress your Muse in a Forehead-cloath of *Greek or Latin*, I mean, you are always to make use of a *quaint Motto* to all your *Compositions*; for besides that, this Artifice bespeaks the Readers Opinion of the Writers Learning, it is otherwise Useful and Commendable. A bright Passage in the Front of a Poem is a good Mark, like a *Star* in a Horse's *Face*, and the Piece will certainly go off the better for it. The *Os magna sonaturum*, which, if I remember right, *Horace* makes one Qualification of a good Poet, may teach you not to Gag your Muse, or stint your Self in Words and Epithets (which cost you nothing) contrary to the practice of some few *out-of-the-way* Writers who use a natural and concise Expression, and effect a Stile like unto a *Shrewsbury-Cake*, *Short* and *Sweet* upon the Palat, they will not afford you a Word more than is necessary to make them intelligible, which is poor and niggardly, as it would be to set down no more Meat than your Company will be sure to eat up. Words are but Lackies to sense, and will dance Attendance, without Wages or Compulsion. *Verba non invita sequentur.*

Furthermore, When you set about Composing, it may be

necessary for your Ease and better *Distillation* of *Wit*, to put on your worst Cloaths, and the worse the better; for an Author like a *Limbick* will yield the better for having a Rag about him: Besides that, I have observed a Gardiner cut the outward Rind of a Tree, (which is the *Surtout* of it), to make it bear well: And this is a natural Account of the usual *Poverty* of *POETS*, and is an Argument why *Wits*, of all Men living, ought to be ill Clad. I have always a secret Veneration for any one I observe to be a little out of Repair in his Person, as supposing him either a *Poet* or a *Philosopher*, because the richest Minerals are ever found under the most ragged and withered Surface of Earth.

As for your choice of *Subjects*, I have only to give you this Caution; That as a handsome way of Praising is certainly the most difficult point in Writing or Speaking, I wou'd by no means advise any young Man to make his first Essay in *PANEGYRICK*, besides the danger of it; for a particular Encomium is ever attended with more ill Will, than any general Invective, for which I need give no Reasons; wherefore, my Counsel is, that you use the *Point* of your *Pen*, not the *Feather*. Let your first Attempt be a *Coup d'Eclat* in the way of *Libel*, *Lampoon* or *Satyr*. Knock down half a score Reputations, and you will infallibly raise your Own, and so it be with *Wit*, no matter with how little Justice; for Fiction is your Trade.

Every great Genius seems to ride upon Mankind, like *Pyrrhus* on his *Elephant*, and the way to have the absolute ascendant of your resty Nag, and to keep your Seat, is, at your first mounting, to afford him the Whip and Spurs plentifully, after which, you may travail the rest of the Day with great Alacrity. Once kick the World, and the World and you will live together at a reasonable good Understanding. You cannot but know that *these* of your *Profession* have been call'd *Genus irritabile vatum*, and you will find it necessary to qualify your self for that *waspish* Society, by exerting your Talent of *Satyr* upon the first Occasion, and to abandon good Nature, only to prove your self a true *Poet*, which you will allow to be a valuable Consideration: In a word, a young *Robber* is usually entred by a Murder. A young *Hound* is blooded when he comes first into the Field, A young *BULLY* begins

with Killing his Man: And a young *POET* must shew his *Wit* as the other his *Courage*, by Cutting and Slashing, and laying about Him, and banging Mankind. *Lastly*,

It will be your Wisdom to look out betimes for a good *Service* for your Muse, according to her Skill and Qualifications, whether in the nature of a *Dairy-Maid*, a *Cook*, or *Charwoman*: I mean to hire out your Pen, to a *Party* which will afford you both *Pay* and *Protection*; and when you have to do with the *Press*, (as you will long to be there) take care to bespeak an importunate Friend, to extort your *Productions* with an agreeable Violence; and which, according to the Cue between you, you must surrender *digito male pertinaci*: there is a Decency in this, for it no more becomes an Author in Modesty to have a hand in publishing his own Works, than a Woman in Labour to lay her self.

I wou'd be very loath to give the least umbrage of Offence by what I have here said, as I may do, if I should be thought to insinuate that these Circumstances of good Writing have been unknown to, or not observed by the *Poets* of this Kingdom. I will do my Countrymen the Justice to say, they have Written by the foregoing Rules with great exactness, and so far as hardly to come behind those of their Profession in *England*, in perfection of low Writing. The *Sublime*, indeed, is not so common with us, but ample amends is made for that want in the great abundance of the *Admirable* and *Amazing*, which appears in all our *Compositions*. Our very good Friend (the Knight aforesaid) speaking of the force of *Poetry*, mentions *Rhiming to death*, *which* (adds he) *is said to be done in* Ireland, and truly, to our Honour, be it spoken, that Power, in a great measure, continues with us to this Day.

I would now offer some poor Thoughts of mine for the Encouragement of *Poetry* in this Kingdom, if I could hope they would be agreeable. I have had many an aking Heart for the ill plight of that noble Profession here, and it has been my late and early Study how to bring it into better Circumstances. And surely, considering what *Monstrous WITS* in the Poetick way, do almost daily start up and surprize us in this Town; what *prodigious* Genius's we have here (of which I cou'd give Instances without number;) and withal of what great benefit it might be to our

Trade to encourage that Science here, (for it is plain our *Linnen-Manufacture* is advanced by the great Waste of *Paper* made by our present set of *Poets*, not to mention other necessary Uses of the same to *Shop-keepers*, especially *Grocers*, *Apothecaries*, and *Pastry-Cooks*; and I might add, but for our *Writers*, the Nation wou'd in a little time, be utterly destitute of *Bum-Fodder*, and must of Necessity import the same from *England* and *Holland*, where they have it in great abundance, by the undefatigable Labour of their own Wits,) I say, these things consider'd, I am humbly of Opinion, it wou'd be worth the Care of our Governours to cherish Gentlemen of the *Quill*, and give them all proper Encouragements here. And since I am upon the Subject, I shall speak my Mind very *freely*, and if I added *sawcily*, it is no more than my Birth-right as a *Briton*.

Seriously then, I have many Years lamented the want of a *Grub-street* in this our large and polite *City*, unless the whole may be called *one*. And this I have accounted an unpardonable Defect in our Constitution, ever since I had any Opinions I could call my own. Every one knows, *Grub-street* is a Market for *Small-Ware* in WIT, and as necessary considering the usual Purgings of a *Human Brain*, as the *Nose* is upon a Man's *Face*: And for the same Reasons, we have here a *Court*, a *College*, a *Play-House*, and beautiful *Ladies*, and fine *Gentlemen*, and good *Claret*, and abundance of *Pens*, *Ink* and *Paper* (clear of Taxes) and every other Circumstance to provoke WIT, and yet those whose Province it is, have not yet thought fit to appoint a place for *Evacuations* of it, which is a very hard Case, as may be judg'd by Comparisons.

And truly this Defect has been attended with unspeakable Inconveniences; for not to mention the Prejudice done to the Common-wealth of *Letters*, I am of opinion we suffer in our Health by it: I believe our corrupted *Air*, and frequent thick *Fogs* are in a great measure owing to the common exposal of our *Wit*, and that with good Management, our Poetical *Vapours* might be carried off in a *common Drain*, and fall into one Quarter of the Town, without Infecting the whole, as the Case is at present, to the great Offence of our *Nobility*, and *Gentry*, and *Others* of nice *Noses*. When Writers of all sizes, like Freemen of the

City, are at liberty to throw out their *Filth* and *Excrementious Productions* in every Street as they please, what can the Consequence be, but that the Town must be *Poyson'd* and become such another *Jakes*, as by report of great Travellers, *EDINBOROUGH* is at Night, a thing well to be consider'd in these pestilential Times.

I am not of the Society for Reformation of Manners, but without that pragmatical Title, I would be glad to see some Amendment in the Matter before us; wherefore I humbly bespeak the Favour of the *Lord Mayor*, the *Court of Aldermen*, and *Common Council*, together with the whole Circle of *Arts* in this Town, and do recommend this Affair to their most *Political* Consideration, and I perswade my self they will not be wanting in their best Endeavours, when they can serve two such good Ends at once, as both to keep the Town *Sweet*, and encourage *Poetry* in it. Neither do I make any Exceptions as to *Satyrical Poets*, and *Lampoon-Writers*, in Consideration of their Office: For tho' indeed, their Business is to rake into *Kennels*, and gather up the *Filth* of *Streets* and *Families*, in which Respect, they may be, for ought I know, as necessary to the Town as *SCAVENGERS* or *CHIMNEY SWEEPS*, yet I have observed they too have themselves at the same Time very foul Cloaths, and like dirty *Persons* leave more *Filth* and *Nastiness*, than they sweep away.

In a Word, What I would be at (for I love to be plain in matters of Importance to my Country) is, That some *private Street*, or *blind Alley* of this Town may be fitted up at the charge of the Publick, as an Apartment for the *Muses*, (like those at *Rome*, and *Amsterdam*, for their Female Relations) and be wholly consign'd to the uses of our *WITS*, furnish'd compleatly with all Appurtenances, such as *Authors*, *Supervisors*, *Presses*, *Printers*, *Hawkers*, *Shops*, and *Ware-Houses*, and abundance of *Garrets*, and every other Impliment and Circumstance of *WIT*: The benefit of which would obviously be this, *viz.* That we shou'd then have a safe *Repository* for our *BEST Productions*, which at present are handed about in *Single Sheets* or *Manuscripts*, and may be altogether lost, (which were a pity) or at best are subject in that loose Dress, like Handsome Women, to great Abuses.

Another Point that has cost me some melancholly Reflections,

is, the present State of the *Play-House*, the Encouragement of which, hath an immediate Influence upon the *Poetry* of the Kingdom: As a good Market improves the Tillage of the Neighbouring Country and enriches the Plough-man, neither do we of this Town seem enough to know or consider the vast Benefit of a *Play-House* to our City and Nation: That *Single-House* is the Fountain of all our *Love*, *Wit*, *Dress* and *Gallantry*. It is the School of *Wisdom*; for there we learn to know *What's what*, which however, I cannot say, is always in that place *sound* Knowledge. There our young Folks drop their *Childish Mistakes*, and come first to perceive their Mothers cheat of the *Parsly-Bed*; there too they get rid of *Natural Prejudices*, especially those of *Religion* and *Modesty*, which are great Restraints to a *Free People*. The same is a Remedy for the *Spleen*, and *Blushing*, and several Distempers occasion'd by the Stagnation of the Blood. It is likewise a School of *Common Swearing*; my young Master who at first but *minc'd* an Oath, is Taught there to *mouth* it gracefully, and to Swear as he reads *French*, *ore rotundo*. Prophaneness was before to him in the nature of his best Suit, or *Holy-Day-Cloaths*; but upon frequenting the *Play-House*, *Swearing*, *Cursing*, and *Lying*, become like his *Every-day Coat*, *Waiscoat* and *Breeches*. Now I say, *Common Swearing*, a produce of this Country, as plentiful as our Corn, thus cultivated by the *Play-House*, might with Management be of wonderful Advantage to the Nation, as a Projector of the *Swearers Bank* has prov'd at large. *Lastly*, the *Stage* in great measure supports the *Pulpit*; for I know not what our Divines cou'd have to say there against the Corruptions of the Age, but for the *Play-House*, which is the Seminary of them. From which, it is plain, the Publick is a Gainer by the *Play-House*, and consequently ought to Countenance it.

And were I worthy to put in my Word, or prescribe to my Betters, I could say in what manner. I have heard, that a certain Gentleman has great Designs, to serve the Publick in the way of their Diversions, with due Encouragement, (that is) if he can obtain some *Concordatum Money*, or *Yearly Sallery*, and handsome *Contributions*: And well he deserves the Favours of the Nation; for, to do him Justice, he has an uncommon Skill in Pastimes,

having altogether apply'd his Studies that Way, and travell'd full many a League, by Sea and Land, for this his profound Knowledge. With that View alone he has visited all the Courts and Cities in *Europe*, and has been at more Pains than I shall speak of, to take an exact Draught of the *Play-House* at the *Hague*, as a Model for a new one here. But what can a private Man do by himself in so publick an Undertaking? It is not to be doubted, but by his Care and Industry vast Improvements may be made, not only in our *Play-House*, (which is his immediate Province) but in our *Gaming-Ordinaries*, *Groom-Porter's*, *Lotteries*, *Bowling-Greens*, *Nine-pin-Allies*, *Bear-Gardens*, *Cock-pits*, *Prizes*, *Puppet* and *Raree-Shews*, and whatever else concerns the elegant Divertisements of this Town. He is truly an *Original Genius*, and I felicitate this our Capital City on his Residence here, where I wish him long to live and flourish for the Good of the Commonwealth.

Once more, If any further Applications shall be made on t'other Side to obtain a Charter for a *Bank* here, I presume to make a Request, that *Poetry* may be a Sharer in that Privilege, being a Fund as real, and to the full as well grounded as our Stocks; but I fear our Neighbours, who envy our *Wit* as much as they do our *Wealth* or *Trade*, will give no Encouragement to either. I believe also, it might be proper to erect a *Corporation* of *Poets* in this City. I have been idle enough in my time to make a Computation of Wits here, and do find we have Three hundred performing *Poets* and upwards, in and about this Town, reckoning six Score to the Hundred, and allowing for *Demi's*, like *Pint-Bottles*, including also the several Denominations of *Imitators*, *Translators*, and *Familiar-Letter-Writers*, &c. One of these last has lately entertain'd the Town with an original Piece, and such a one, as I dare say, the late *British Spectator*, in his *Decline*, would have called *an excellent Specimen of the true Sublime*, or *a Noble Poem*, or *a fine Copy of Verses on a Subject perfectly New*, (the Author himself) and had given it a Place amongst his latest Lucubrations.

But as I was saying, so many *Poets*, I am confident, are sufficient to furnish out a CORPORATION in point of Number. Then, for the several Degrees of subordinate Members requisite to such

a Body, there can be no Want; for altho' we have not one *Masterly Poet*, yet we abound with *Wardens* and *Beadles*, having a Multitude of *Poetasters*, *Poetito's*, *Parcel-Poets*, *Poet-Apes*, and *Philo-Poets*, and many of inferior Attainments in Wit, but strong Inclinations to it, which are by odds more than all the rest. Nor shall I ever be at ease, till this Project of mine (for which I am heartily thankful to my self) shall be reduced to Practice. I long to see the Day when our *Poets* will be a regular and distinct Body, and wait upon our *Lord Mayor* on Publick Days, like other good Citizens, in Gowns turn'd up with Green instead of Lawrels, and when I my self, who make this Proposal, shall be free of their Company.

To conclude, What if our Government had a Poet Laureat *here as in* England? What if our University had a Professor of Poetry *here as in* England? What if our *Lord Mayor* had a City-Bard *here as in* England? And to refine upon *England*, What if every Corporation, Parish, and Ward in this Town had a Poet in Fee, *as they have NOT in* England? Lastly, What if every one *so qualify'd* were oblig'd to add one more than usual to the Number of his Domesticks, and besides a *Fool* and a *Chaplain*, (which are often united in one Person) would retain a *Poet* in his Family; for perhaps a Rhimer is as necessary amongst Servants of a House, as a *Dobbin*, with his Bells, at the Head of a Team: But these things I leave to the Wisdom of my Superiors.

While I have been directing your Pen, I should not forget to govern my own, which has already exceeded the Bounds of a Letter: I must therefore take my Leave abruptly, and desire you, without further Ceremony, to believe that I am, Sir,

Your most Humble Servant,

December 1, 1720. E. F.

THE DIFFICULTY OF KNOWING ONE'S SELF A SERMON

THE DIFFICULTY OF KNOWING ONE'S SELF A SERMON

2 KINGS viii. Part of the 13th Verse.

And Hazael *said, But what, is thy Servant a Dog, that he should do this great Thing?*

WE have here a very signal Instance of the Deceitfulness of the Heart, represented to us in the Person of *Hazael*; who was sent to the Prophet *Elisha*, to enquire of the Lord concerning his Master the King of *Syria's* Recovery. For the Man of God having told him that the King might recover from the Disorder he was then labouring under, begun to set and fasten his Countenance upon him of a sudden, and to break out into the most violent Expressions of Sorrow, and a deep Concern for it; whereupon, when *Hazael*, full of Shame and Confusion, asked, *Why weepeth my Lord?* he answered, *Because I know all the Evil that thou wilt do unto the Children of Israel; their strong Holds wilt thou set on fire, and their young Men wilt thou slay with the Sword, and wilt dash their Children, and rip up their Women with Child.* Thus much did the Man of God say and know of him, by a Light darted into his Mind from Heaven. But *Hazael* not knowing himself so well as the other did, was startled and amazed at the Relation, and would not believe it possible that a Man of his Temper could ever run out into such enormous Instances of Cruelty and In-

humanity. *What*, says he, *is thy Servant a Dog, that he should do this great Thing?*

And yet, for all this, it is highly probable that he was then that very Man, he could not imagine himself to be; for we find him, on the very next Day after his Return, in a very treacherous and disloyal Manner murdering his own Master, and usurping his Kingdom; which was but a Prologue to that sad Tragedy which he afterwards acted upon the People of *Israel*.

And now the Case is but very little better with most Men, than it was with *Hazael*; however it came to pass, they are wonderfully unacquainted with their own Temper and Disposition, and know very little of what passes within them: For of so many proud, ambitious, revengeful, envying, and ill-natured Persons that are in the World, where is there one of them, who although he hath all the Symptoms of the Vice appearing upon every Occasion, can look with such an impartial Eye upon himself, as to believe that the Imputation thrown upon him is not altogether groundless and unfair? who, if he were told by Men of a discerning Spirit and a strong Conjecture, of all the evil and absurd Things which that false Heart of his would at one Time or other betray him into, would not believe as little, and wonder as much as *Hazael* did before? Thus, for Instance; tell an angry Person, that he is weak and impotent, and of no Consistency of Mind; tell him, that such or such a little Accident, which he may then despise, and think much below a Passion, shall hereafter make him say and do several absurd, indiscreet, and misbecom-

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The following Advertisement was prefixed to this sermon by the Editor in *London*.

The Manuscript Title Page of the following Sermon being lost, and no Memorandums writ upon it, as there were upon the others, when and where it was preached, made the Editor doubtful whether he should print it as the Dean's, or not. But its being found amongst the same Papers; and the Hand, although writ somewhat better, bearing a great Similitude to the Dean's, made him willing to lay it before the Publick, that they might judge whether the Stile and Manner also do not render it still more probable to be his.

ing Things: He may perhaps own, that he hath a Spirit of Resentment within him, that will not let him be imposed on, but he fondly imagines that he can lay a becoming Restraint upon it when he pleaseth, although it is ever running away with him into some Indecency or other.

Therefore, to bring down the Words of my Text to our present Occasion, I shall endeavour, in a further Prosecution of them, to evince the great Necessity of a nice and curious Inspection into the several Recesses of the Heart, that being the surest and the shortest Method that a wicked Man can take to reform himself: For let us but stop the Fountain, and the Streams will spend and waste themselves away in a very little Time; but if we go about, like Children, to raise a Bank, and to stop the Current, not taking Notice all the while of the Spring which continually feedeth it, when the next Flood of a Temptation riseth and breaketh in upon it, then we shall find that we have begun at the wrong End of our Duty, and that we are very little more the better for it, than if we had sat still, and made no Advances at all.

But, in order to a clearer Explanation of this Point, I shall speak to these following Particulars.

First, By endeavouring to prove, *from particular Instances*, that Man is generally the most ignorant Creature in the World of himself.

Secondly, By enquiring into the Grounds and Reasons of this Ignorance.

Thirdly, and Lastly, By proposing several Advantages that *do most assuredly* attend a due Improvement in the Knowledge of ourselves.

First then. To prove that Man is generally the most ignorant Creature in the World, of himself.

To pursue the Heart of Man through all the Instances of Life, in all its several Windings and Turnings, and under that infinite Variety of Shapes and Appearances which it putteth on, would be a difficult and almost impossible Undertaking; so that I shall confine myself to such as have a nearer Reference to the present

Occasion, and do, upon a closer View, shew themselves through the whole Business of Repentance. For we all know what it is to repent, but whether he repenteth him truly of his Sins or not who can know it?

Now the great Duty of Repentance is chiefly made up of these two Parts, a hearty Sorrow for the Follies and Miscarriages of the Time past, and a full Purpose and Resolution of Amendment for the Time to come. And now, to shew the Falseness of the Heart in both these Parts of Repentance. And

First, As to a hearty Sorrow for the Sins and Miscarriages of the Time past. Is there a more usual Thing than for a Man to impose upon himself, by putting on a grave and demure Countenance, by casting a severe Look into his past Conduct, and making some few pious and devout Reflections upon it, and then to believe that he hath repented to an excellent Purpose, without ever letting it step forth into Practice, and shew itself in a holy Conversation? Nay, some Persons do carry the Deceit a little higher; who, if they can but bring themselves to weep for their Sins, they are then full of an ill-grounded Confidence and Security; never considering that all this may prove to be no more than the very Garb and outward Dress of a contrite Heart, which another Heart, as hard as the nether Mill-stone, may as well put on. For Tears and Sighs, however in some Persons they may be decent and commendable Expressions of a godly Sorrow, are neither necessary, nor infallible Signs of a true and unfeigned Repentance. Not necessary, because sometimes, and in some Persons, the inward Grief and Anguish of the Mind may be too big to be expressed by so little a Thing as a Tear, and then it turneth its Edge inwards upon the Mind; and like those Wounds of the Body which bleed inwardly, it generally proves the most fatal and dangerous to the whole Body of Sin: Not infallible, because a very small Portion of Sorrow may make some tender Dispositions melt, and break out into Tears; or a Man may perhaps weep at parting with his Sins, as he would to bid the last Farewel to an old Friend that he was sure never to see again.

But there is still a more pleasant Cheat in this Affair, that when we find a Deadness, and a strange Kind of Unaptness and Indis-

position to all Impressions of Religion, and that we cannot be as truly sorry for our Sins as we should be, we then pretend to be sorry that we are not more sorry for them; which is not less absurd and irrational, than that a Man should pretend to be very angry at a Thing, because he did not know how to be angry at all.

But after all, what is wanting in this Part of Repentance, we expect to make it up in the next; and to that Purpose we put on a Resolution of Amendment, which we take to be as firm as a House built upon a Rock; so that let the Floods arise, and the Winds blow, and the Streams beat vehemently upon it, nothing shall shake it into Ruin and Disorder. We doubt not, upon the Strength of this Resolve, to stand fast and unmoved amidst the Storm of a Temptation; and do firmly believe, at the Time we make it, that nothing in the World will ever be able to make us commit those Sins over again, which we have so firmly resolved against.

Thus many a Time have we come to the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, with a full Purpose of Amendment, and with as full a Perswasion of putting that same Purpose into Practice; and yet have we not all as often broke that good Purpose, and falsified that same Perswasion, by starting aside, like a broken Bow, into those very Sins, which we then so solemnly and so confidently declared against?

Whereas, had but any other Person entered with us into a Vow so solemn, that he had taken the Holy Sacrament upon it, I believe had he but once deceived us by breaking in upon the Vow, we should hardly ever after be prevailed upon to trust that Man again, altho' we still continue to trust our own Hearts, against Reason and against Experience.

This indeed is a dangerous Deceit enough, and will of Course betray all those well-meaning Persons into Sin and Folly, who are apt to take Religion for a much easier thing than it is. But this is not the only Mistake we are apt to run into; we do not only think sometimes that we can do more than we can do, but sometimes that we are incapable of doing less; an Error of another Kind indeed, but not less dangerous, arising from a Diffidence and a false Humility. For how much a wicked Man can do in the

Business of Religion, if he would do his best, is very often more than he can tell.

Thus nothing is more common than to see a wicked Man running headlong into Sin and Folly, against his Reason, against his Religion, and against his God. Tell him, that what he is going to do will be an infinite Disparagement to his Understanding, which, at another Time, he sets no small Value upon; tell him that it will blacken his Reputation, which he had rather die for than lose; tell him that the Pleasure of the Sin is short and transient, and leaveth a vexatious Kind of a Sting behind it, which will very hardly be drawn forth; tell him that this is one of those things for which God will most surely bring him to Judgment, which he pretendeth to believe with a full Assurance and Persuasion: And yet for all this, he shuteth his Eyes against all Conviction, and rusheth into the Sin, like a Horse into the Battle; as if he had nothing left to do, but like a silly Child to wink hard, and to think to escape a certain and an infinite Mischief, only by endeavouring not to see it.

And now to shew that the Heart hath given in a false Report of the Temptation, we may learn from this, that the same weak Man would resist and master the same powerful Temptation, upon Considérations of infinitely less Value, than those which Religion offers, nay, such vile Considerations, that the Grace of God cannot without Blasphemy be supposed to add any manner of Force and Efficacy to them. Thus for Instance, it would be a hard Matter to dress up a Sin in such soft and tempting Circumstances, that a truly covetous Man would not resist for a considerable Sum of Money; when neither the Hopes of Heaven nor the Fears of Hell could make an Impression upon him before. But can any thing be a surer Indication of the Deceitfulness of the Heart, than thus to shew more Courage, Resolution, and Activity in an ill Cause, than it doth in a good one? and to exert itself to better Purpose, when it is to serve its own Pride, or Lust, or Revenge, or any other Passion, than when it is to serve God upon the Motives of the Gospel, and upon all the Arguments that have ever been made use of to bring Men over to Religion and a good Life? And thus having shewn that a Man is

wonderfully apt to deceive and impose upon himself, in passing through the several Stages of that great Duty, Repentance; I proceed now in the

Second Place, To enquire into the Grounds and Reasons of this Ignorance, *and to shew whence it cometh to pass that a Man, the only Creature in the World that can reflect and look into himself, should know so little of what passeth within him, and be so very much unacquainted even with the standing Dispositions and Complexion of his own Heart.* The prime Reason of it is, because we so very seldom converse with ourselves, and take so little Notice of what passeth within us: For a Man can no more know his own Heart than he can know his own Face, any other Way than by Reflection: He may as well tell over every Feature of the smaller Portions of his Face without the Help of a Looking-Glass, as he can tell all the inward Bents and Tendencies of the Soul, those standing Features and Lineaments of the inward Man, and know all the various Changes that this is liable to from Custom, from Passion, and from Opinion, without a very frequent Use of looking within himself.

For our Passions and Inclinations are not always upon the Wing, and always moving towards their respective Objects, but retire now and then into the more dark and hidden Recesses of the Heart, where they lie concealed for a while, until a fresh Occasion calls them forth again: So that not every transient, oblique Glance upon the Mind can bring a Man into a thorough Knowledge of all its Strengths and Weaknesses; for a Man may sometimes turn the Eye of the Mind inward upon itself, as he may behold his natural Face in a Glass, and go away, and strait forget what manner of Man he was. But a Man must rather sit down and unravel every Action of the past Day into all its Circumstances and Particularities, and observe how every little thing moved and affected him, and what manner of Impression it made upon his Heart; this done with that Frequency and Carefulness which the Importance of the Duty doth require, would in a short time bring him into a near and intimate Acquaintance with himself.

But when Men instead of this do pass away Months and

Years in a perfect Slumber of the Mind, without once awaking it, it is no Wonder they should be so very ignorant of themselves, and know very little more of what passeth within them, than the very Beasts which perish. But here it may not be amiss to enquire into the Reasons why most Men have so little Conversation with themselves.

And 1*st*, Because this Reflection is a Work and Labour of the Mind, and cannot be performed without some Pain and Difficulty: For before a Man can reflect upon himself, and look into his Heart with a steady Eye, he must contract his Sight, and collect all his scattered and roving Thoughts into some Order and Compass, that he may be able to take a clear and distinct View of them; he must retire from the World for a while, and be unattentive to all Impressions of Sense; and how hard and painful a thing must it needs be to a Man of Passion and Infirmity, amidst such a Crowd of Objects that are continually striking upon the Sense, and solliciting the Affections, not to be moved and interrupted by one or other of them. But,

2*dly*, Another Reason why we so seldom converse with ourselves, is, because the Business of the World taketh up all our Time, and leaveth us no Portion of it to be spent upon this great Work and Labour of the Mind. Thus twelve or fourteen Years pass away before we can well discern Good from Evil; and of the rest so much goeth away in Sleep, so much in the ordinary Business of Life, and so much in the proper Business of our Callings, that we have none to lay out upon the more serious and religious Employments. Every Man's Life is an imperfect Sort of a Circle, which he repeateth and runneth over every Day; he hath a Set of Thoughts, Desires, and Inclinations which return upon him in their proper Time and Order, and will very hardly be laid aside to make room for any thing new and uncommon: So that call upon him when you please, to set about the Study of his own Heart, and you are sure to find him pre-engaged; either he hath some Business to do, or some Diversion to take, some Acquaintance that he must visit, or some Company that he must entertain, or some cross Accident hath put him out of Humour, and unfitted him for such a grave Employment. And thus it cometh to pass

that a Man can never find Leisure to look into himself, because he doth not set apart some Portion of the Day for that very Purpose, but foolishly deferreth it from one Day to another, until his Glass is almost run out, and he is called upon to give a miserable Account of himself in the other World. But,

3*dly*, Another Reason why a Man doth not more frequently converse with himself, is, because such a Conversation with his own Heart may discover some Vice or some Infirmity lurking within him, which he is very unwilling to believe himself guilty of. For, can there be a more ungrateful Thing to a Man, than to find that upon a nearer View he is not that Person he took himself to be? that he hath neither the Courage, nor the Honesty, nor the Piety, nor the Humility that he dreamt he had? that a very little Pain, for instance, putteth him out of all Patience, and as little Pleasure softens and disarms him into Ease and Wantonness? that he hath been at more Pains, and Labour, and Cost, to be revenged of an Enemy, than to oblige the best Friend he hath in the World? that he cannot bring himself to say his Prayers without a great deal of Reluctancy; and when he doth say them, the Spirit and Fervour of Devotion evaporateth in a very short Time, and he can scarcely hold out a Prayer of ten Lines, without a Number of idle and impertinent, if not vain and wicked Thoughts coming into his Head? These are very unwelcome Discoveries that a Man may make of himself; so that it is no wonder that every one, who is already flushed with a good Opinion of himself, should rather study how to run away from it, than how to converse with his own Heart.

But further. If a Man were both able and willing to retire into his own Heart, and to set apart some Portion of the Day for that very Purpose; yet he is still disabled from passing a fair and impartial Judgment upon himself, by several Difficulties, arising partly from Prejudice and Prepossession, partly from the lower Appetites and Inclinations. And,

First, That the Business of Prepossession may lead and betray a Man into a false Judgement of his own Heart. For we may observe, that the first Opinion we take up of any Thing, or of any Person, doth generally stick close to us; the Nature of the Mind

being such, that it cannot but desire, and constantly endeavour to have some certain Principles to go upon, something fixed and unmoveable, whereon it may rest and support itself. And hence it cometh to pass, that some Persons are with so much Difficulty brought to think well of a Man they have once entertained an ill Opinion of; and perhaps, that too for a very absurd and unwarrantable Reason. But how much more difficult then must it be for a Man, who taketh up a fond Opinion of his own Heart, long before he hath either Years or Sense enough to understand it, either to be persuaded out of it by himself, whom he loveth so well, or by another, whose Interest or Diversion it may be to make him ashamed of himself? Then

Secondly, As to the Difficulties arising from the inferior Appetites and Inclinations, let any Man look into his own Heart, and observe in how different a Light, and under what different Complexions any two Sins of equal Turpitude and Malignity do appear to him, if he hath but a strong Inclination to the one, and none at all to the other. That which he hath an Inclination to, is always dressed up in all the false Beauty that a fond and busy Imagination can give it; the other appeareth naked and deformed, and in all the true Circumstances of Folly and Dishonour. Thus, Stealing is a Vice that few Gentlemen are inclined to; and they justly think it below the Dignity of a Man to stoop to so base and low a Sin; but no Principle of Honour, no Workings of the Mind and Conscience, not the still Voice of Mercy, not the dreadful Call of Judgment, nor any Considerations whatever, can put a Stop to that Violence and Oppression, that Pride and Ambition, that Revelling and Wantonness, which we every Day meet with in the World. Nay, it is easy to observe very different Thoughts in a Man, of the Sin that he is most fond of, according to the different Ebbs and Flows of his Inclination to it. For, as soon as the Appetite is alarmed, and seizeth upon the Heart, a little Cloud gathereth about the Head, and spreadeth a kind of Darkness over the Face of the Soul, whereby it is hindered from takeing a clear and distinct View of Things; but no sooner is the Appetite tired and satiated, but that same Cloud passeth away like a Shadow, and a new Light springing up in the Mind of a sudden,

the Man seeth much more, both of the Folly and of the Danger of the Sin, than he did before.

And thus having done with the several Reasons why Man, the only Creature in the World that can reflect and look into himself, is so very ignorant of what passeth within him, and so much unacquainted with the standing Dispositions and Complexions of his own Heart: I proceed now, in the

Third and *Last* Place, to lay down several Advantages, that do *most assuredly* attend a due Improvement in the Knowledge of ourselves. And,

First, One great Advantage is, that it tendeth very much to mortify and humble a Man into a modest and low Opinion of himself. For, let a Man take a nice and curious Inspection into all the several Regions of the Heart, and observe every thing irregular and amiss within him; for Instance, how narrow and shortsighted a Thing is the Understanding; upon how little Reason do we take up an Opinion, and upon how much less sometimes do we lay it down again. How weak and false Ground do we often walk upon with the greatest Confidence and Assurance, and how tremulous and doubtful we are very often, where no Doubt is to be made: Again; how wild and impertinent, how busy and incoherent a Thing is the Imagination, even in the best and wisest Men; insomuch, that every Man may be said to be mad, but every Man doth not shew it. Then as to the Passions; how noisy, how turbulent, and how tumultuous they are; how easily are they stirred and set a going, how eager and hot in the Pursuit, and what strange Disorder and Confusion do they throw a Man into; so that he can neither think, nor speak, nor act as he should do, while he is under the Dominion of any one of them.

Thus, let every Man look with a severe and impartial Eye into all the distinct Regions of the Heart, and, no doubt, several Deformities and Irregularities, that he never thought of, will open and disclose themselves upon so near a View; and rather make the Man ashamed of himself, than proud.

Secondly, A due Improvement in the Knowledge of ourselves, doth certainly secure us from the sly and insinuating Assaults of Flattery. There is not in the World a baser, and more hateful

Thing than Flattery; it proceedeth from so much Falseness and Insincerity in the Man that giveth it, and often discovereth so much Weakness and Folly in the Man that taketh it, that it is hard to tell which of the two is most to be blamed. Every Man of common Sense can demonstrate in Speculation, and may be fully convinced, that all the Praises and Commendations of the whole World can add no more to the real and intrinsick Value of a Man, than they can add to his Stature. And yet, for all this, Men of the best Sense and Piety, when they come down to the Practice, cannot forbear thinking much better of themselves, when they have the good Fortune to be spoken well of by other Persons.

But the Meaning of this absurd Proceeding seemeth to be no other than this; there are few Men that have so intimate an Acquaintance with their own Hearts, as to know their own real Worth, and how to set a just Rate upon themselves, and therefore they do not know, but that he who praises them most, may be most in the right of it. For, no doubt, if a Man were ignorant of the true Value of a Thing he loved as well as himself, he would measure the Worth of it according to the Esteem of him who biddeth most for it, rather than of him that biddeth less.

Therefore, the most infallible Way to disentangle a Man from the Snares of Flattery, is to consult and study his own Heart; for whoever does that well, will hardly be so absurd, as to take another Man's Word before his own Sense and Experience.

Thirdly, Another Advantage from this kind of Study is this, that it teacheth a Man how to behave himself patiently, when he has the ill Fortune to be censured and abused by other People. For a Man who is thoroughly acquainted with his own Heart, doth already know much more Evil of himself, than any Body else can tell him; and when any one speaketh ill of him, he rather thanketh God, that he can say no worse. For, could his Enemy but look into the dark and hidden Recesses of the Heart, he considereth what a Number of impure Thoughts he might there see brooding and hovering like a dark Cloud upon the Face of the Soul; that there he might take a Prospect of the Fancy, and view it acting over the several Scenes of Pride, of Ambition, of Envy, of Lust, and Revenge; that there he might tell how often a vicious

Inclination hath been restrained, for no other Reason but just to save the Man's Credit or Interest in the World; and how many unbecoming Ingredients have entered into the Composition of his best Actions. And now, what Man in the whole World would be able to bear so severe a Test, to have every Thought and inward Motion of the Heart laid open and exposed to the View of his Enemies? But,

Fourthly, and *Lastly*; Another Advantage of this kind is, that it maketh Men less severe upon other People's Faults, and less busy and industrious in spreading them. For a Man, employed at Home, inspecting into his own Failings, hath not Leisure enough to take Notice of every little Spot and Blemish that lieth scattered upon others. Or, if he cannot escape the Sight of them, he always passes the most easy and favourable Construction upon them. Thus, for Instance; Does the Ill he knoweth of a Man proceed from an unhappy Temper and Constitution of Body? he then considereth within himself, how hard a Thing it is, not to be borne down with the Current of the Blood and Spirits, and accordingly layeth some Part of the Blame upon the Weakness of human Nature, for he hath felt the Force and Rapidity of it within his own Breast; although perhaps, in another Instance, he remembereth how it rageth and swelleth by Opposition; and, although it may be restrained, or diverted for a while, yet it can hardly ever be totally subdued.

Or, has the Man sinned out of Custom? he then, from his own Experience, traceth a Habit into the very first Rise and imperfect Beginnings of it; and can tell by how slow and insensible Advances it creepeth upon the Heart; how it worketh itself by Degrees into the very Frame and Texture of it, and so passeth into a second Nature; and consequently he hath a just Sense of the great Difficulty for him to learn to do Good, who hath been long accustomed to do Evil.

Or, Lastly, Hath a false Opinion betrayed him into a Sin? He then calleth to Mind what wrong Apprehensions he hath had of some Things himself; how many Opinions, that he once made no Doubt of, he hath, upon a stricter Examination, found to be doubtful and uncertain; how many more to be unreasonable and

absurd. He knoweth further, that there are a great many more Opinions that he hath never yet examined into at all, and which, however, he still believeth, for no other Reason, but because he hath believed them so long already without a Reason. Thus, upon every Occasion, a Man intimately acquainted with himself, consulteth his own Heart, and maketh every Man's Case to be his own (and so puts the most favourable Interpretation upon it). Let every Man therefore look into his own Heart, before he beginneth to abuse the Reputation of another, and then he will hardly be so absurd, as to throw a Dart that will so certainly rebound and wound himself. And thus, through the whole Course of his Conversation, let him keep an Eye upon that one great and comprehensive Rule of Christian Duty, on which hangeth not only the Law and the Prophets, but the very Life and Spirit of the Gospel too; *Whatsoever ye would that Men should do unto you, do you even so unto them.* Which Rule, that we may all duly observe, by throwing aside all Scandal and Detraction, all Spite and Rancour, all Rudeness and Contempt, all Rage and Violence, and whatsoever tendeth to make Conversation and Commerce either uneasy, or troublesome, may the God of Peace grant for Jesus Christ's Sake, *&c.*

Consider what hath been said, and the Lord give you a right Understanding in all Things. To whom with the Son and the Holy Ghost, be all Honour and Glory, now and for ever.

The last FAREWELL OF EBENEZOR ELLISTON

The last FAREWELL
OF
EBENEZOR ELLISTON
TO THIS
TRANSITORY WORLD

IT is an accustomary Thing for those who unfortunately end their Lives like me, to relate something of their past Life and Actions before they leave the World, and appear before the great GOD, who is the Searcher and Judge of our Actions whether Good or Evil; and as I am a dying Man, and expect in a few Moments to meet my Creator in the Face, where the Book of Remembrance will be laid open before me, wherein all my Sins is Recorded, but I trust the Blood of the immaculate Lamb my Saviour being innocently shed for my Sins will wash them away, the which I rely and depend on; and as I am now a Dying Man, what I have to Relate shall be nothing but the Truth. I was Born in the City of Dublin on or about the 10th of July, 1690, my Parents when living were so well-known in this City, that I need not give any further Account of them, only that they discharged their Duty to me whilst living, and their Death by their honest Endeavours left me a very handsome fortune, which with the Blessing of God, I and my family might have lived to the End of my Days very happy and contented; but for Want of the Grace of God in the Year 1719 I unfortunately became acquainted with some young Men who had no other Way of Living but by Robbing and Plundering in and about the City of Dublin, some of whom are now living, and others Executed for their just Deserts on or about the 12th of March, 1720.

The crimes which they all Dyed for they Justly deserved being the Persons who committed them. I have no reason to Publish the names of the Persons who was concern'd with me in several

Roberies, only leave them to the mercy of God, hoping that he in his own time may give them a true sence of their sins and folly before it be too late, the Roberies which I was concerned in from October 1719 to January 1720 were so many that I cannot give a true account of them all, but leave them aside, and come to acquaint you of my last misfortunes some small time before Christmas last for some reasons best known to my self, not for any Roberies that I committed, I left my House and Familly, and took a private Lodging, in which time there was a Roberey committed on the Grável Walk on a Captain, which robbery, one Elizabeth Gorden I believe by the perswasions of a Man in power in this City went before the Lord-Mayor and as I am informed swore that I and two or three other Persons in my Company committed the said robbery, which I now declare that Neither they or I had any Hand whatsoever in it, for which Mr. H——s made it his Business to haunt Night and Day for me, and also informed several Persons, that there was Twenty Pounds Reward for any one who would Apprehend me, so that I might be brought to Justice, for which Several People as well as himself made it their Business to look for me, but God knows how Innocent I was at that Time of Committing any Manner of Robbery whatsoever, but to avoid Dangers, I made my Case known to several of my Friends, who advised me to leave this Town, whose Advice I took, but Unfortunately I was concerned with another Person in taking Counsellor Sweeny's Mare, and brought Richard Oroway with me for no other Reason than to bring the Mare back again, when I had got to my Journey's End, but before that I had reached to the Place I design'd, I was Apprehended in Clonmell, and from thence brought to Dublin, and try'd for the same which I now die for.

There was one John Lynham who was tried for a Robbery at Kilmainham, he the said Lynham was innocent thereof for it was the above Mac. Cormack with an Other person who was with him that comitted the same.

I here Openly Declare that the Delusions of Women never brought me to this Untimely End; it was the want of Grace and the Delusions of the Devil were the Occasion thereof.

I freely and sincerely forgive all the World, which is a chief Direction in the Faith of the Establish'd Church of England, and Die in the same, having no more to say, I earnestly and sincerely Repent me of all my misdone Deeds, Begging and Imploring the Almighty God to Number me among his Elect, and that thro' the Merits of my dear Saviour I may rest with him in Peace this Night. To which I beg all good Christians may say Amen.

EBENEZOR ELLISTON.

Delivered in the Presence of *George Derry*, Clerk.

DUBLIN: Printed by *John Harding* in *Molesworth's-Court* in *Fish-shamble-Street*. For *Elizabeth Sadlier* in School-House Lane near High-street.

TEXTUAL NOTES

THE STORY OF THE INJURED LADY

First printed in 1746. See facsimile of title-page, p. 1. [C]
Miscellanies By Dr. Swift. The Eleventh Volume. London. Printed for C. Hitch, C. Davis, R. Dodsley, and M. Cooper MDCCXLVI. [M]
Swift's *Works*, Dublin, 1746, Vol. VIII, p. 294.
The present text is printed from Faulkner's edition of the *Works*, 1746, and is collated with copies of the two London editions. [C and M.]

Page	Line	Present Text	Variants
3	6, 7	*Half-title:* In a Letter to her Friend, with his ANSWER.	[Omitted in C and M]
	5*f.b.*	her other	other
5	9	I grant C, M	to grant
6	3	in Mind	in the Mind C
7	10	suitable to	suitably to C
8	22	Loser C, M	Looser

A PROPOSAL FOR THE UNIVERSAL USE OF IRISH MANUFACTURE

First printed in 1720. See facsimile of title-page, p. 13.
Swift's *Works*, Dublin, 1735, Vol. IV, p. 21.
The present text is printed from Faulkner's edition of the *Works*, 1735, and is collated with a copy of the first edition of 1720.

Page	Line	Present Text	Variants in 1720
15	6	*Half-title:* Manufacture, *&c.*	*Manufacture in Cloaths and Furniture, &c.*
	10	they	we
16	10	SHOULD	could
17	8-11	I must confess, that as to the former, I should not be sorry if they would stay at home; and for the latter, I hope, in a little Time we shall have no Occasion for them.	Nor am I *even* yet for lessening the Number of those Exceptions.
18	4-5	*a Gown, as if he had not been born among us.*	*Gown, as any Prelate in Christendom.*
	20	is extracted	are extracted
	4*f.b.*	more	some more
	b.	loseth	lose
19	2	*three Thousand six Hundred*	*two Thousand four Hundred*
20	23-4	chief *Governors*	*Ministers*
	8*f.b.*	Exaggerations	high Exaggerations
	3*f.b.*	Lord *Wharton*	L——d *W*——

Page	Line	Present Text	Variants in 1720
21	4	*Ministers*	Ministries
22	7	it	of it
	11	altogether imaginary	only *Gasconnade*

A LETTER TO MR. POPE

Letters Between Dr. Swift, Mr. Pope, &c., 1714-36. London: Cooper, 1741, p. 10. [A]

Letters To and From Dr. J. Swift, D.S.P.D. From the Year 1714, to 1738. To which are added, Several Notes and Translations not in the London Edition. Dublin: Printed by and for George Faulkner, MDCCXLI. p. 12.

The Works of Alexander Pope In Prose. Vol. II, London: J. & P. Knapton, C. Bathurst, R. Dodsley, 1741, p. 9. [B]

Dean Swift's Literary Correspondence, For Twenty-four Years, from 1714 to 1738. London: E. Curll, 1741, p. 10. [C]

Volume VII Of the Author's Works, Containing Letters To and From Jonathan Swift, D.D., D.S.P.D., Dublin: Printed by and for George Faulkner, MDCCXLVI. p. 12. [F]

The present text is printed from Faulkner's collected edition, Vol. VII, 1746, which is identical with his edition of 1741, and is collated with the London editions of 1741.

Page	Line	Present Text	Variants
25	7-8	Chief Justice Whitshed	Chief Justice A
	11	reparations	Reparation C
		Besides,	Beside A
			Fn, added in B and C: "This Letter Mr. Pope never received."
26	2	Family	Royal Family B, C
		further	farther C
	4	Nations	Nation C
	10	me for doing something in	me in C
	16-17	seizing papers	seizing of papers C
	Fn.	*Historiographer	*Historiographer-Royal C
27	2	to present A	to represent B, C, F
	10	Judge	Judges C
	19	Duke of Grafton the Lord Lieutenant's	Duke of Grafton's A
	22	the man	*Fn.* in C: "This righteous Magistrate, at last, is dead."
	9*f.b.*	that sort of	that of C
28	3	a Treatise	*Fn.* in C: "A *Dedication* to a *Great Man*, concerning *Dedications*. This was written by *Thomas Gordon*, Esq; Author of the *Independent Whig*."
29	9-10	*Non obtusa*, etc.	*Nec tam cursus equos Tyria* *Sol jungit ab urbe,* *Non obtusa adeo gestamus* *. pectora Pœni.* A

Page	Line	Present Text	Variants
29	9-10		No translation in A and B. C has We *Carthaginians*, Sir, are not so dull Not from the *Tyrians* is so distant *Phœbus*.
	12	assured	assuring B, C
	13	adding	and adding B, C
	5*f.b.*	one small favour	*Fn.* in C: "The *Deanery* of St. Patrick's being but 1000*l. per annum*."
30	7*f.b.*	Managers	Manager A
	4*f.b.*	the Dissenters	Dissenters A
31	7*f.b.*	grievances	grievance B, C
32	14	to the	to a C
33	21	and write	write B, C

THE LAST SPEECH AND DYING WORDS OF EBENEZOR ELLISTON

The present text is printed from Swift's *Works*, 1735, Vol. IV, p. 375. A copy has been found of the original broadside which Swift must have printed at the time of Elliston's execution, May 2, 1722. But I am indebted to Mr. Newport B. White, the Librarian of Marsh's Library, for kindly providing me with a photostat of another broadside printed by John Harding on the same occasion, entitled *The last Farewell of Ebenezor Elliston to this transitory World*. It was presumably "cried about in his own hearing, as he was carried to execution." This has been printed in Appendix E, p. 365. Continued on p. 379.

SOME ARGUMENTS AGAINST ENLARGING THE POWER OF BISHOPS

First printed in 1723. See facsimile of title-page, p. 43.
Swift's *Works*, Dublin, 1735, Vol. IV, p. 35.
The present text is printed from Faulkner's edition of the *Works*, 1735, and is collated with a copy of the Dublin edition, 1723.

Page	Line	Present Text	Variants in 1723
45	16	be	is
46	5	Prince	King
48	6	abovementioned. But	abovementioned; and
49	22	be	are
	25	suffer	suffers
50	11	Pounds	Pound
52	16	late Bishop of *Salisbury*, [Name transferred to *Fn.*]	late excellent Bishop of *Salisbury*, Dr. *Burnet*
53	6-7	some worthless illiterate Chaplain	a Chaplain
54	5	be	is
	22	other Men	other mortal Men
	24	his Son	a Son

Page	Line	Present Text	Variants in 1723
55	3	some Bishops	the Bishops
	6-7	the Lord Archbishop of *Dublin* that now is, who hath left Memorials of his Bounty in many Parts	his Grace the Lord Archbishop of Dublin that now is, who beside the Gratitude his Country owes him, is a most wise and faithful Counsellour, hath left Memorials of his Bounty almost in every part
	8	the Bishop	the Arch-Bishop of *Cashel*, the Bishop
	10	Pounds	Pound
57	7*f.b.*	Proposers	Proposer
59	8*f.b.*	Owner	Owners

A LETTER TO A YOUNG GENTLEMAN

A Letter from A Lay-Patron to a Gentleman Designing for Holy Orders./*Quid igitur profuit vidisse te Veritatem quam nec defensurus esses nec securturus.* Lactant / *Dublin*: Printed by *E. Waters* in *Sycamore-Alley*, 1720. [See facsimile of title-page, p. xxiii.]

I am indebted to the Librarian of Marsh's Library, Dublin, for his kindness in providing me with a photostat of this very rare edition, which has been used for collation and the title-page reproduced by permission of its owners, The Representative Church Body, 52 St. Stephen's Green, Dublin.

Miscellanies in Prose and Verse. Dublin: Printed by *S. Fairbrother*, Book-Seller, and are to be Sold at his Shop in *Skinner-Row*, over against the *Tholsel*, [1]721, p. 237. [A reprint of the above.]

A Letter to a Young Gentleman, Lately enter'd into Holy Orders, etc. *London*: Printed for J. Roberts at the *Oxford Arms* in *Warwick-Lane* MDCCXXI. Price 6*d*. [See facsimile of title-page, p. 61.]

Miscellanies in Prose and Verse. The First Volume, 1727, p. 349.

Swift's *Works*, Dublin, 1735, Vol. I, p. 208.

The present text is printed from Faulkner's edition of the *Works*, 1735, and is collated with the first Dublin (20) and London (21) editions and the *Miscellanies*(27).

Page	Line	Present Text	Variants
63	8	*January* 9,	*July* the 9th. 20; *January* the 9th, 21
	10	were	was 20, 21, 27
	15	Condition 20, 21, 27	Condion (misprint in 35)
65	10	makes 20, 21, 27	make (misprint in 35)
	26	the Preacher	they 20, 21, 27
	4*f.b.*	reject	to reject 20, 21, 27
	2*f.b.*	sure 20, 21	sure, 27, 35
66	13	have observed	observe 20, 21
	14	those	all those 20, 21, 27
67	8	occasion	to occasion 20, 21, 27
	9	between	among 20, 21, 27
	10	some Gentlemen's Families, may have	a Gentleman's Family, have 20, 21 27
	4*f.b.*	terse 27, 35	tere 20, 21
68	3	the Style	a Style 27
	21	be	is 20, 21, 27

Page	Line	Present Text	Variants
69	7	fiercer 20	sincere 21, 27, 35
	15	Orators on	Oratory or 20, 21
	18	whose	those 21
	21-2	moving the Passions 20, 21, 27	moving Passions 35
70	1	every	any 20, 21
	3	be	are 20, 21, 27
	11	or	nor 20, 21, 27
	23	properly 20	probably 21, 27, 35
	7*f.b.*	the former	this first 20, 21, 27
71	1	Arguments	Argument 20, 21
	25	Compromise 20, 21	Compremise 27, 35
	8*f.b.*	Forms	Form 27
	7*f.b.*	he took	took 20, 21, 27
72	2	so directly	too directly 20, 21
	27	*rang*	rung 20, 21, 27
73	16	be justly	justly be 20, 21, 27
	6*f.b.*	I suppose 20, 21, 27	as I suppose 35
	5*f.b.*	on us	us 20, 21
74	6	Revelation	Revelations 20, 21, 27
	15	Genius and Learning	Genius or Learning 20, 21
75	23	*Historian*	*Historians* 20, 21, 27
	26	and	or 21
76	5	wise	wisest 21
	12-3	knows well enough, although he never heard of *Aristotle* or *Plato*	knew long enough before *Aristotle* or *Plato* were born 20, 21, 27
	24	do	does 20, 21
77		[Four misprints on this page in 20 and 21 were corrected in 27 and 35.]	
	4*f.b.*	People	the People 27
78	25	above Forty of the latter	at least Forty of the latter Sort 20, 21, 27
79	15	among People	among a People 20, 21, 27
		[Three misprints on this page in 21 were corrected in 27 and 35.]	
80	2-3*f.b.*	many of the Clergy	the Clergy 20, 21, 27
		[N.B. This change in the text, and the footnote added in 35 are a good example of Swift's final revision.]	
81	1	those	these 20, 21, 27
	3	For, I	And I 20, 21, 27
	5	be	is 20, 21, 27
	12	in the World	in Life 20, 21, 27
			[signed] *A.B.* 20, 21

A LETTER TO A YOUNG LADY

MS. in Huntington Library. H.M. 1599. A fair copy in Swift's hand on nine quarto leaves. No title. Dated at the end (p. 18) Deanry-House, Febr. 11th, 1722-3, and signed Jonath Swift. See facsimiles, pp. xxix, 83.

Miscellanies in Verse and Prose, 1727, Vol. I, p. 319.

Swift's *Works*, Dublin, 1735, Vol. I, p. 243.
The present text is printed from Faulkner's edition of the *Works*, and is collated with the MS. (H) and the *Miscellanies* (27).

Page	Line	Present Text	Variants
85	*Half-title*	To A Young Lady	[No title in MS.]
		Written in the Year 1723	To a very *Young Lady* 27
	18	your Disposition	your own Disposition H
86	11	the dearest	dearest H
	21	were entered . . . chose	have entered . . . chuse H
	24	Witnesses	witness H, 27
	26	extremely	very H; exceeding 27
87	4	their Servants	the Servants H, 27
	6	happen	happens H, 27
	15	are apt	were apt H, 27
	21	somewhat	a little H, 27
	24	four Pounds	ten Pounds H
	2*f.b.*	in your Life	in Life H
88	5	may	will H, 27
	14	their Sex	their own Sex H
	19	him with a	with H; with a 27
	7*f.b.*	and put . . . there	they put . . . and there H
89	7-8	Dresses; to insinuate	Dresses, of the Arts they used to govern their Husbands; to insinuate H
	10	to be determined	be determined H
	24	he be not	he is not H, 27
	4*f.b.*	Romances	Songs H
90	9	and relish	and to relish H
	24	incapable	uncapable H, 27
	25	meet	are met H
	9*f.b.*	or the	and the H
	8*f.b.*	And when	And [But *erased*] when H
	4*f.b.*	Cut or Colour	Cut and Colour H
		Petticoats	Dress H; Dresses 27
91	8	which all	as all 27
	9	and least	and the least H
	21	not to be	not be H
	23	remote	remoter H, 27
	24	or of	of H
	10*f.b.*	not to improve	and improve H
	8*f.b.*	those Entertainments	such an Entertainment H
	b.	or Novel	or a Novell H
92	16	mended	attended H
	17	make	makes H, 27
	19-20	a Task for which I take myself to be not ill qualified;	which is a Task I take myself to be not ill qualified for, H
93	3	is	seems to be H, 27
	5-6	profess their Admiration for a Colonel or a Captain, on Account of his Valour;	openly profess their Adorations for a Collonell or a Captain on Account of their Valor H

Page	Line	Present Text	Variants
93	9	at the Ring	on the Ring H
	13-4	thought worthy of improving	improved by [*erased*]; thought worth improving H
	18	that only	onely that one H
	21	Liberties	Liberty H, 27
	9*f.b*	happen	happens H, 27
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94	5	for a Mark	to be a Mark
	6	yet it is	yet is it H
	6-7	It is true, the Person you have chosen	'Tis true, he H
	9	Acquaintance	Allyance H
	Last line	*And humble Servant*	Deanry-house and humble Servt. Febr. 11th 1722-3. Jonath Swift

ON MUTUAL SUBJECTION, ON THE TESTIMONY OF CONSCIENCE, ON THE TRINITY

First printed in 1744, with the title *Three Sermons*, by Dodsley in London (see facsimile of title-page, p. 139) and by Faulkner in Dublin. These three sermons, as well as the doubtful *Difficulty of Knowing One's Self*, were published before Swift's death; but it may be assumed without question that he was not concerned with their printing, since their first appearance was more than two years after the commission appointed under a writ, *De Lunatico Inquirendo*, found him to be 'a person of unsound mind and memory.' The manuscripts came into Dodsley's hands from Dr. Sheridan's son Thomas. (See Faulkner's statement, *Works*, 1772, XI, 324, that Thomas Sheridan had arranged for the publication of the three sermons. Faulkner is confirmed by Sheridan himself in his edition of the *Works*, 1784, X, [1], note.)

A second edition with Dodsley's imprint, the title-page dated 1744, followed. This also exists with minor corrections. Although the title-pages of the second edition and the second edition corrected are dated 1744, there is no assurance that they appeared before 1745. Dodsley may have used remainder title-pages from his first edition. He advertised *Three Sermons* in the *London Evening Post* of Oct. 30-Nov. 1, and in the two following issues of that journal, after which the advertisement was dropped until the issue of Nov. 17-20, when it appeared with the following information added: 'The Originals may be seen at Mr. Dodsley's in the Dean's own Hand, with the Dates when and where they were preach'd.' This last advertisement was possibly for the second edition. (See Ralph Straus, *Robert Dodsley*, London and New York, 1910, p. 327, where the second edition is listed, without evidence, as having appeared on Nov. 15, 1744.) The extremely faulty typography of the first edition suggests a possible reason for following quickly with a second.

Faulkner published a second edition in 1751, although in the meantime he had included the sermons in the collected *Works*, Vol. VIII, 1746.

Swift's *Works*, London, 1755, 4to, Vol. VI, Part 1, p. [169].

Four Sermons. Dublin: Printed by George Faulkner, 1760, p. 1.

The Sermons of the Reverend Dr. Jonathan Swift. Glasgow: Printed for Robert Urie, 1763, p. [3].

The Sermons of the Reverend Dr. Jonathan Swift. Glasgow: Printed by William Smith, 1776, p. 13.

The Sermons of Dr. J. Swift. London: Sold by R. Dampier . . . [1790?], Vol. I, p. 3.

Since Swift did not approve or correct the texts of the sermons for publication, the normal choice of a text would be one printed, so far as could be ascertained, from his manuscript. In this instance that would be Dodsley's, but the few variants between the Dodsley and Faulkner editions are from the hand of the compositor; and I have chosen to print from Faulkner's collected edition of Swift's *Works*, Vol. VIII, 1746, pp. 209, 223, 237, for the sake of uniformity in matters of spelling, punctuation, and capitalization with the rest of this volume.

ON BROTHERLY LOVE

First printed in March, 1754, by Faulkner in Dublin and R. and J. Dodsley in London (see facsimile of title-page, p. 169), obviously by agreement as is indicated by the preliminary notices in the two editions. Faulkner's prefatory note reads: 'The original Manuscript may be seen with the Printer, in the Dean's own Hand Writing.' Dodsley's 'Advertisement' before the text reads: 'the original Manuscript . . . in the Dean's own Hand-writing may be seen at Mr. *Faulkner's* Bookseller in *Dublin*.'

The volume signature, 'Vol. IX,' appears on the first page of each gathering in Faulkner's edition, indicating that he designed this sermon for inclusion in the collected *Works*, Vol. IX, which appeared in 1758. For some reason he changed his plan and included it instead in Vol. X, 1762, with four other sermons not printed earlier.

Swift's *Works*, London, 1755, 4to, Vol. VI, Part 1, p. [201].

Swift's *Works*, Dublin, 1762, Vol. X, p. 3.

The Sermons of the Reverend Dr. Jonathan Swift. Glasgow: Printed for Robert Urie, 1763, p. [103].

The Sermons of the Reverend Dr. Jonathan Swift. Glasgow: Printed by William Smith, 1776, p. 90.

The present text is printed from Faulkner's edition of the *Works*, 1762, Vol. X, p. [3].

ON FALSE WITNESS, ON THE POOR MAN'S CONTENTMENT, CAUSES OF THE WRETCHED CONDITION OF IRELAND, UPON SLEEPING IN CHURCH

First printed by Faulkner in 1762, in Vol. X of the collected *Works*. This volume was issued in July or shortly before, and its contents were immediately reprinted in London in Vol. XIII of Hawkesworth's small octavo edition, where the Advertisement reads: 'So soon as these were printed in *Dublin*, in a new edition of the Dean's works, it was a justice due to them to select them thence, to complete the *London* edition.'

The Sermons of the Reverend Dr. Jonathan Swift. Glasgow: Printed for Robert Urie, 1763, p. [193].

Swift's *Works*, London, 1764, 4to, Vol. VII, Part 1, p. [1].

The Sermons of the Reverend Dr. Jonathan Swift. Glasgow: Printed by William Smith, 1776, p. 155.

The Sermons of Dr. J. Swift. London: Sold by R. Dampier . . . [1790?], Vol. I, pp. 135, 167; Vol. II, p. 3.

The present texts are printed from Faulkner's edition of the *Works*, 1762, Vol. X, pp. 19, 35, 51, 69.

A SERMON UPON THE MARTYRDOM OF K. CHARLES I; DOING GOOD, A SERMON, ON THE OCCASION OF WOOD'S PROJECT; A SERMON UPON THE EXCELLENCY OF CHRISTIANITY, IN OPPOSING TO HEATHEN PHILOSOPHY

First printed in Hawkesworth's edition of the *Works*, London, 1765, 4to, Vol. VIII, Part 1, pp. 88, 161, 209. Faulkner printed them in the same year in Vol. XII of his edition. These are the last of Swift's sermons to be printed. Deane Swift, who had himself planned to edit his kinsman's works (see John Nichols, *Illustrations of the Literary History of the Eighteenth Century*, London, 1817-58, V, 376, 387), edited the materials in this volume and supplied some works by Swift which had not been available earlier for publication, among which were these sermons.

Swift's *Works*, Dublin, 1765, Vol. XII, pp. 139, 237, 313.

The Sermons of Dr. J. Swift. London: Sold by R. Dampier . . . [1790?], Vol. II, p. 67.

The present texts are from Faulkner's edition of the *Works*, 1765, Vol. XII, pp. 139, 237, 313, for the sake of uniformity with the rest of this volume. A few obvious compositor's errors have been corrected.

PRAYERS FOR A SICK PERSON DURING HER ILLNESS

The present text is printed from Faulkner's edition of the *Works*, 1746. The above title is taken from the table of contents.

A PRAYER FOR STELLA

The present text is printed from Faulkner's edition of the *Works*, 1765.

THOUGHTS ON RELIGION: FURTHER THOUGHTS ON RELIGION

The present text is printed from Faulkner's edition of the *Works*, 1765.

APPENDICES

A.

A Defence of English *Commodities* is printed from the copy of the first edition, 1720, in the Bodleian Library. See facsimile of title-page, p. 267.

B. I.

The Wonderful Wonder of Wonders and *The Wonder of all the Wonders*, etc., are printed from Faulkner's edition of the *Works*, 1735. This has been collated with the original London edition of 1721, which contains the following additional sentence, of importance because of its reference to the Bank:

> He lives from *Hand* to *Mouth*, but however, the greatest and wisest People will trust him with all their ready Money, which he was never known to *Embezzle*, except, very rarely, when he is sacrificing to his Goddesses below.

Subscribers to the Bank . . . with Notes and Queries is printed from a copy of the original half-sheet [1721] in the Cambridge University Library.

A Letter to the King at Arms is printed from a copy of the original half-sheet [1721] in the Yale University Library.

B. II.

Swearers Bank is printed from the copy of the original half-sheet [1720] in the Yale University Library.

A Letter from a Lady in Town, etc., is printed from the copy of the original half-sheet [1721] by permission of the Governors of Marsh's Library, St. Patrick's Close, Dublin.

The Last Speech and dying Words of the Bank of Ireland is printed from the copy of the original broadside [1721] in the Harvard University Library.

*The Life and Death of Michy Windy*bank is printed from the copy of the original edition [1720-1] in the Yale University Library.

B. III.

The official *List of Subscribers to the Bank* and *The Bank of Ireland's Answer to the . . . Notes and Queries* are printed from the copies of the original broadsides [1721] by permission of the Governors of Marsh's Library, St. Patrick's Close, Dublin.

Resolutions of the House of Lords, etc., is printed from the copy of the original small half-sheet [1721] in the Harvard University Library.

C.

A Letter of Advice to a Young Poet is printed from the copy of the first edition [Dublin, 1721] in the Bodleian Library. See facsimile of title-page, p. 325.

A Letter of Advice to a Young Poet, etc., by J. Swift. Printed at Dublin, Reprinted at London, and Sold by W. Boreham at the Angel in Pater-noster-Row, 1721.

A second edition with the same title, 1721.

The Works of Jonathan Swift, ed. Hawkesworth. London, 1768, 4to, Vol. XIII, p. 399.

The present text has been collated with the two London editions, and with Hawkesworth's reprint, but no significant variants occur.

D.

The Difficulty of Knowing One's Self was first printed by Dodsley in London. It was issued in three states: as an added or fourth sermon in *Three Sermons*, second edition corrected, the title-page dated 1744; in Vol. X of the *Miscellanies*, published in May, 1745; and separately. Its publication as a single sermon was advertised in the *London Evening-Post*, July 9-11, 1745, as 'This Day is published' and as being 'on the same Size and Letter' as *Three Sermons*. Swift's bibliographers do not list a copy of this edition and I have been unable to find one in an extended search. Dodsley's procedure deserves some comment. He printed sheets of 'The Difficulty of Knowing One's Self' with signatures and pagination continuous with *Three Sermons*, apparently with the intention of selling to those who already possessed the earlier published sermons and who could easily stitch or bind the newly published sermon with the three. By this procedure he was also providing for himself: he could add the fourth sermon to any remainder copies or sheets of *Three Sermons*. This was done, but without providing a new title-page. Thus we get *Three Sermons*, dated 1744, as the title of a volume actually containing four. The three sermons in the volume have, as might be expected, only half-titles, whereas 'The Difficulty of Knowing One's Self,' by virtue of having been prepared also for separate publication, has a full title-page. It is reasonable to believe that the date of 1744 applies only to the three sermons and that the added sermon was first printed in 1745, probably in the *Miscellanies*, Vol. X. The advertisement in the *Evening-Post* of July 9-11 seems to indicate that Dodsley later conceived the idea of printing this fourth sermon for stitching or binding with the earlier ones.

Swift's *Works*, Dublin, 1746, Vol. VIII, p. [253].

Four Sermons. Dublin: Printed by George Faulkner, 1760, p. 45.

The Sermons of the Reverend Dr. Jonathan Swift. Glasgow: Printed for Robert Urie, 1763, p. [139].

Swift's *Works*, London, 1775, 4to, Vol. IX, Part II, p. 19.

The Sermons of the Reverend Dr. Jonathan Swift. Glasgow: Printed by William Smith, 1776, p. 116.

The Sermons of Dr. J. Swift. London: Sold by R. Dampier . . . [1790?], Vol. I, p. 91.

The present text is printed from Faulkner's edition of the *Works*, 1746, Vol. VIII, p. [253].

E.

The last Farewell of Ebenezor Elliston to this transitory World is printed from the copy of the original broadside [1722] by permission of the Governors of Marsh's Library, St. Patrick's Close, Dublin.

ADDENDUM

In the Harvard Library Bulletin, Vol. XIII, no. 3, Autumn 1959, Daniel L. McCue, Jr., described 'a newly discovered Broadsheet of Swift's *Last Speech and Dying Words of Ebenezor Elliston*, now in the Harvard Library, with the imprint: DUBLIN: Printed by *John Harding* in *Molesworth's Court* in *Fish-shamble-Street*.' The title contains the date of his execution, 'this Second Day of MAY, 1722' and the phrase 'Publish'd at his Desire for the Common Good.' It is clearly a copy of the actual sheet which Swift had got ready for the day of the execution.

It contains the following variants from the text of Faulkner, reprinted in this volume:

Page	Line	Present Text	Variants
37	6	Elliston, *who was*	Ellison, Who is to be 22
39	21	any Rogue	any 22
40	23	seen a Tankard worth Fifteen Pounds sold to	seen sold a Tankard worth Fifteen Pounds to 22
	32	Fifty Pounds	Fifty Pound 22
41	6	until	till
	8	Mugs	Muggs
	33-4	the Death of a Dog.	tho'a Death *contrary.*

At the end of the Broadsheet, 1722, *the following was printed at the foot of the two columns running across the whole page*:

There are likewise to Die Two more one Patrick Mc.Clanen and Stephen Mc. Clanen they say / little or nothing in their Defence, but acknowledge the Facts for which they Die to be true, and die both Romans.

There were two more to suffer, but are to be Executed in the Country.

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